THE Glorious Memory OF QUEEN *ANNE* REVIV'D:

Exemplify'd in the

CONDUCT

Of her chief Favourite the

Ducheſs Dowager

OF

MARLBOROUGH,

From her firſt coming to Court,

To the Year 1710.

In a Letter from herſelf to my Lord——

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MAY

THE CONDUCT OF THE Dowager Ducheſs OF *MARLBOROUGH,*

From her firſt coming to Court,

To the Year 1710.

My Lord,

HAVE been often told, that there is a Sort of Philoſophy, by which People have brought themſelves to be indifferent, not only whether they be at all remembered after Death, but whether in caſe their Names ſhould ſurvive them, they be mention'd with Praiſe or Infamy. If this be really a Point of Wiſdom, it is infinitely beyond my

Reach; and I ſhall own further, that it ſeems to me too refined and ſublime to be attain'd by any Body, who has not firſt got rid of the Prejudices of common Senſe and common Honeſty. I will not pretend to ſay, that the Paſſion for Fame may not ſometimes be exceſſive, and deſervedly the Subject of Ridicule. But ſurely, my Lord, there never was a ſingle Inſtance of a Perſon of true Honour, who was willing to be ſpoken of, either during Life or after it, as a Betrayer of his Country or his Friend. And I am perſuaded your Lordſhip muſt have obſerv'd, that all thoſe who, at this Day, declare themſelves wholly careleſs about what the World, or the Circle of their Acquaintance, will ſay of them, when they are dead, are quite as unconcerned to deſerve a good Character, while they live.

For my own part, I frankly confeſs to your Lordſhip and to the World, that whatever Vanity or Weakneſs the Ambition of a good Name may be thought, either by Philoſophers or by Miniſters of State, to imply, I have ever felt ſome Degree of that Ambition, from the Moment I could diſtinguiſh between Good and Evil. My chief Aim (if I have any Acquaintance with my own Heart) has been both in publick and private Life, to deſerve Approbation; but I have never been without an earneſt Deſire to have it too, both living and dead, from the Wiſe and Virtuous.

My Lord, this Paſſion has led me to take more Pains, than you would eaſily imagine. It has ſometimes carried me beyond the Sphere, to which the Men have thought proper, and perhaps, generally ſpeaking, with good Reaſon, to confine our Sex. I have been a kind of Author. About forty Years ago, having underſtood that the Wife of the late Biſhop *Burnet*, a Lady whom I greatly eſteemed,

had

had received unfavourable Impreſſions of me, on account of the unhappy Differences between Queen *Mary* and her Siſter, I wrote a faithful Narrative of that Affair, purely to ſatisfy that one Perſon.

And when, after my Diſmiſſion from Queen *Anne*'s Service, I perceived how induſtriouſly Malice was employ'd, in inventing Calumnies to load me with, I drew up an Account of my Conduct in the ſeveral Offices I had filled under her Majeſty. This Piece I intended to publiſh immediately, but was diſſuaded from it by a Perſon (of great Eminence at this Day) whom I thought my Friend. I have ſince imagined, that he had by Inſtinct an Averſion to accounting. It was ſaid, as a Reaſon for deferring the Publication of my Account, that Prejudice and Paſſion were grown too violent and ſtormy for the Voice of Reaſon to be heard, but that thoſe would, after ſome time, ſubſide; and that the Truth, then brought to light, would unavoidably prevail. I followed the Advice with the leſs Reluctance, as being ſure of the Power of an eaſy Vindication whenever my Patience ſhould be puſh'd to Extremity.

After this I ſet myſelf another Taſk, to which I was partly urged by the Injuſtice, and, I may ſay, Ingratitude of the Whigs. It was to give an Account of my Conduct with Regard to Parties, and of the ſucceſsful Artifice of Mr. *Harley* and Mrs. *Maſham*, in taking Advantage of the Queen's Paſſion for what ſhe called the Church, to undermine me in her Affections. In this Undertaking I had the Aſſiſtance of a Friend, to whom I furniſhed Materials. Some Parts of the Work were of my own Compoſition, being ſuch Paſſages as no body but myſelf could relate with Exactneſs. This was not originally intended to be publiſhed till after my Death.

But, my Lord, as I am now drawing near my End,

End, and very ſoon there will remain nothing of me, but a *Name*, I am grown deſirous, under the little Capacity which Age and Infirmities have left me for other Enjoyments, to have the Satisfaction, before I die, of ſeeing that *Name*, (which from the Station I have held in the great World, muſt unavoidably ſurvive me) in Poſſeſſion of what was only deſign'd for a Legacy. From this Deſire I have cauſed the ſeveral Pieces above-mention'd to be connected together, and thrown into the Form in which I now take the Liberty to addreſs them to your Lordſhip. They may poſſibly be of ſome Uſe towards correcting the Folly and Injuſtice of thoſe, who, in order to judge of the Conduct of others, begin with forming to themſelves Characters of them, upon ſlight and idle Reports, and then make ſuch Characters the Rule, by which they admit or reject whatever they afterwards hear concerning them. If any ſuch happy Effect as this might reaſonably be hoped from the Peruſal of theſe Papers, I ſhould be far from making any Apology for offering them to your Lordſhip; I would not call it troubling your Lordſhip with them. No, my Lord, you will not eſteem it a Trouble, to read them, even though you ſhould judge them uſeleſs for the Purpoſe I have mentioned. The Friendſhip you favour me with, will make you find a particular Satisfaction in this Juſtification of my injured Character to the World. And I imagine, that there is no honeſt Mind, how much ſoever it may chance to be prejudiced againſt me, but will feel ſomething of the ſame Pleaſure, in being undeceived.

The original Letters, of which, either in whole or in part, the Copies will be here found, I have directed to be preſerved in my Family, as inconteſtable Vouchers of the Truth of what I am going to relate.

THE

THE firſt Time that my Favour with the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* became an Object of publick Attention, was upon the Quarrel between her Siſter Queen *Mary*, and her, which happened a few Years after the Revolution. Here therefore your Lordſhip might naturally expect that I ſhould begin my Relation: But as I have been blamed for ſome memorable Parts of the Princeſs's Conduct before that Quarrel, it will be neceſſary to my preſent Purpoſe to go back a little farther; and, perhaps, it may not be improper to ſay ſomething even of the Birth and firſt Growth of that Favour, which has given Occaſion to all the Calumnies with which I have been aſperſed.

The Beginning of the Princeſs's Kindneſs for me had a much earlier Date than my Entrance into her Service. My Promotion to this Honour was wholly owing to Impreſſions ſhe had before received to my Advantage; we had uſed to play together when ſhe was a Child, and ſhe even then expreſſed a particular Fondneſs for me. This Inclination encreaſed with our Years. I was often at Court, and the Princeſs always diſtinguiſhed me by the Pleaſure ſhe took to honour me, preferably to others, with her Converſation and Confidence. In all her Parties for Amuſement, I was ſure, by her Choice, to be one; and ſo deſirous ſhe became of having me always near her, that, upon her Marriage with the Prince of *Denmark* in 1683, it was, at her own earneſt Requeſt to her Father, I was made one of the Ladies of her Bed-Chamber.

What conduced to render me the more agreeable to her in this Station was, doubtleſs, the Diſlike ſhe had conceived to moſt of the other Perſons about her; and particularly to her firſt Lady of the Bed Chamber, the Counteſs of *Clarendon*; a Lady whoſe

whoſe Diſcourſe and Manner (though the Princeſs thought they agreed very well together) could not poſſibly recommend her to ſo young a Miſtreſs: For ſhe looked like a mad Woman, and talked like a Scholar. Indeed her Highneſs's Court was throughout ſo oddly compoſed, that I think it would be making myſelf no great Compliment, if I ſhould ſay, her chuſing to ſpend more of her Time with me, than with any of her other Servants, did no Diſcredit to her Taſte. Be that as it will, it is certain ſhe at length diſtinguiſhed me by ſo high a Place in her Favour, as perhaps no Perſon ever arrived at a higher with Queen or Princeſs. And, if from hence I may draw any Glory, it is, that I both obtained and held this Place without the Aſſiſtance of Flattery; a Charm, which in Truth her Inclination for me, together with my unwearied Application to ſerve and amuſe her, rendered needleſs; but which, had it been otherwiſe, my Temper and Turn of Mind would never have ſuffered me to employ.

Young as I was, when I firſt became this high Favourite, I laid it down for a Maxim, that Flattery was Falſhood to my Truſt, and Ingratitude to my greateſt Friend; and that I did not deſerve ſo much Favour, if I could not venture the Loſs of it by ſpeaking the Truth, and by preferring the real Intereſt of my Miſtreſs before the pleaſing her Fancy, or the ſacrificing to her Paſſion. From this Rule I never ſwerved. And though my Temper and my Notions in moſt Things were widely different from thoſe of the Princeſs, yet during a long Courſe of Years, ſhe was ſo far from being diſpleaſed with me for openly ſpeaking my Sentiments, that ſhe ſometimes profeſſed a Deſire, and even added her Command, that it ſhould be always continued, promiſing never to be offended at it, but to love me the better for my Frankneſs.

Favour

Favour with a Princeſs upon theſe Terms engaged me to her in the Manner that it ought; I mean, by a Sentiment which I chuſe to call Honour, rather than Gratitude or Duty, becauſe while it implies all the Juſtice and Affection of theſe, it ſeems to expreſs a more diſintereſted Principle of Action. For I can truly affirm, that I never conſidered myſelf on any Occaſion where her Intereſt or Glory was concerned, nor had I any Idea of a Miſery which I would not have ſooner incurred, than the inward Shame of being conſcious of a Failure in this Reſpect. The Facts themſelves, which I am going to relate, will in a great Degree evince the Truth of what I ſay; and that the Princeſs was perfectly perſuaded of it, is, I think, ſufficiently manifeſt both from her Letters to me, and from that unreſerv'd Intimacy of Friendſhip, in which we for many Years lived together.

Kings and Princes, for the moſt Part, imagine they have a Dignity peculiar to their Birth and Station, which ought to raiſe them above all Connexion of Friendſhip with an Inferior. Their Paſſion is to be admired and feared, to have Subjects awfully obedient, and Servants blindly obſequious to their Pleaſure. Friendſhip is an offenſive Word; it imports a Kind of Equality between the Parties; it ſuggeſts nothing to the Mind of Crowns or Thrones, high Titles, or immenſe Revenues, Fountains of Honour, or Fountains of Riches, Prerogatives which the Poſſeſſors would have always uppermoſt in the Thoughts of thoſe who are permitted to approach them.

The Princeſs had a different Taſte. A Friend was what ſhe moſt coveted; and for the Sake of Friendſhip (a Relation which ſhe did not diſdain to have with me) ſhe was fond even of that Equality which ſhe thought belonged to it. She grew un-

eaſy to be treated by me with the Form and Ceremony due to her Rank; nor could ſhe bear from me the Sound of Words which implied in them Diſtance and Superiority. It was this Turn of Mind, which made her one Day propoſe to me, that whenever I ſhould happen to be abſent from her, we might in all our Letters write ourſelves by feigned Names, ſuch as would import nothing of Diſtinction of Rank between us. *Morley* and *Freeman* were the Names her Fancy hit upon; and ſhe left me to chuſe by which of them I would be called. My frank, open Temper naturally led me to pitch upon *Freeman*, and ſo the Princeſs took the other; and from this Time Mrs. *Morley* and Mrs. *Freeman* began to converſe as Equals, made ſo by Affection and Friendſhip.

Soon after the Deceaſe of King *Charles* II. Lord *Clarendon* was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to which Country his Lady was to go with him. The Princeſs received a ſenſible Joy from this Event; not only as it releaſed her from a Perſon very diſagreeable to her, but as it gave her an Opportunity of promoting me to be firſt Lady of her Bed-Chamber; which ſhe immediately did, with a Satisfaction to herſelf that was not to be concealed.

During her Father's whole Reign ſhe kept her Court as private as ſhe could, conſiſtent with her Station. What were the Deſigns of that unhappy Prince every Body knows. They came ſoon to ſhew themſelves undiſguiſed, and Attempts were made to draw his Daughter into them. The King indeed uſed no Harſhneſs with her; he only diſcovered his Wiſhes, by putting into her Hands ſome Books and Papers, which he hoped might induce her to a Change of Religion; and had ſhe had any Inclination that Way, the Chaplains about her were ſuch Divines as could have ſaid but little in Defence

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of their own Religion, or to ſecure her againſt the Pretences of Popery, recommended to her by a Father and a King.

Lord *Tyrconnel* alſo, who had married my Siſter, took ſome Pains with me, to engage me, if poſſible, to make Uſe, for the ſame End, of that great Favour which he knew I enjoyed with the Princeſs: But all his Endeavours proved vain; and it was not long before all the Danger blew over, the Projects of that Reign being effectually diſappointed, almoſt as ſoon as they were openly avowed.

Upon the Landing of the Prince of *Orange* in 1688, the King went down to *Saliſbury* to his Army, and the Prince of *Denmark* with him; but the News quickly came from thence, that the Prince of *Denmark* had left the King, and was gone over to the Prince of *Orange*, and that the King was coming back to *London*. This put the Princeſs into a great Fright. She ſent for me, told me her Diſtreſs, and declared, *That rather than ſee her Father ſhe would jump out at Window*. This was her very Expreſſion.

A little before, a Note had been left with me, to inform me where I might find the Biſhop of *London*, (who in that critical Time abſconded) if her Royal Highneſs ſhould have Occaſion for a Friend. The Princeſs on this Alarm, immediately ſent me to the Biſhop. I acquainted him with her Reſolution to leave the Court, and put herſelf under his Care. It was hereupon agreed, that, when he had adviſed with his Friends in the City, he ſhould come about Midnight in a Hackney Coach to the Neighbourhood of the *Cockpit*, in order to convey the Princeſs to ſome Place where ſhe might be private and ſafe.

The Princeſs went to Bed at the uſual Time to prevent Suſpicion. I came to her ſoon after; and

by the Back-Stairs which went down from her Cloſet, her Royal Highneſs, my Lady *Fitzharding*, and I, with one Servant, walked to the Coach, where we found the Biſhop and the Earl of *Dorſet*. They conducted us that Night to the Biſhop's Houſe in the City, and the next Day to my Lord *Dorſet*'s at *Copt-hall*. From thence we went to the Earl of *Northampton*'s and from thence to *Nottingham*, where the Country gathered about the Princeſs; nor did ſhe think herſelf ſafe, 'till ſhe ſaw that ſhe was ſurrounded by the Prince of *Orange*'s Friends.

The moſt remarkable Thing that happened to the Princeſs during her Stay at this Place, was a Letter ſhe received from Lord *Clarendon*. It was full of Compliments, and at the ſame Time full of Complaint, that ſhe had not told him of a Thing he liked ſo well, that he might have had a Share in it. How well theſe *Complaints and the Earneſtneſs he ſhewed* (in a Conſultation held at *Windſor*, before the Prince of *Orange* came to *London*) *to have King* James *ſent to the* Tower, agreed with his Conduct afterwards, I ſhall leave to the World to judge.

As this Flight of the Princeſs to *Nottingham* has by ſome been ignorantly, not to ſay, maliciouſly, imputed to my Policy and premeditated Contrivance, I thought it neceſſary to give this ſhort, but exact Relation of it. It was a Thing ſudden and unconcerted; nor had I any Share in it, farther than obeying my Miſtreſs's Orders in the Particulars I have mentioned; though indeed I had Reaſon enough on my own Account, to get out of the Way, Lord *Churchill* having likewiſe at that Time left the King, and gone over to the other Party.

Quickly after this, the King fled into *France*.

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The Throne was hereupon declared vacant, and presently filled with the Prince and Princess of *Orange*. The Parliament thought proper to settle the Crown on King *William* for Life, and the Princess of *Denmark* gave her Consent to it. This was another Event which furnish'd simple People with a Pretence to censure me. It was insinuated, that, to make my Court to the King and Queen, I had influenced the Princess to forego her undoubted Rights. The Truth is, I did persuade her to consent to the Project of that Settlement, and to be easy under it, after it was made. But no Regard to the King or Queen, nor any View of Ambition, had the least Share in moving me to this Conduct, any more than to what inconsiderable Part I acted in the Business of the Revolution.

As to the latter, it was evident to all the World, that as Things were carried on by King *James*, every Body sooner or later must be ruined, who would not become a *Roman* Catholick. This Consideration made me very well pleased at the Prince of *Orange*'s Undertaking to rescue us from such Slavery. But I do solemnly protest, that, if there be Truth in any Mortal, I was so very simple a Creature, that I never once dreamt of his being King. Having never read, nor employ'd my Time in any thing but playing at Cards; and, having no Ambition myself, I imagin'd that the Prince of *Orange*'s sole Design was to provide for the Safety of his own Country, by obliging King *James* to keep the Laws of ours; and that he would go back as soon as he had made us all happy; that there was no Sort of Difficulty in the Execution of this Design, and that to do so much Good would be a greater Pleasure to him than to be King of any Country upon Earth. I was soon taught to know the World better. However, as I was perfectly convinced that a *Roman* Catholick

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is not to be truſted with the Liberties of *England*, I never once repined at the Change of the Government, no, not in all the Time of that long Perſecution I went thro'. I might, perhaps, wiſh, it had been compaſs'd by ſome other Man who had more Honour and Juſtice than he, who could depoſe his Father-in-law, and Uncle, to maintain Liberty and Laws, and then act the Tyrant himſelf in many Inſtances, but I never once wiſh'd that the Change had not been made.

And, as to giving King *William* the Crown for Life, it was the ſame Principle of Regard for the publick Welfare that carry'd me to adviſe the Princeſs to acquieſce in it. It is true, that when the Thing was firſt ſtarted, I did not ſee any Neceſſity for ſuch a Meaſure; and I thought it ſo unreaſonable, that I took a great deal of Pains (which I believe the King and Queen never forgot) to promote my Miſtreſs's Pretenſions. But I quickly found that all Endeavours of that kind would be ineffectual; that all the principal Men, except the *Jacobites*, were for the King, and, that the Settlement would be carry'd in Parliament, whether the Princeſs conſented to it, or not. So that in reality there was nothing adviſable but to yield with a good Grace.

I confeſs, had I been in her Place, I ſhould have thought it more for my Honour to be eaſy in this Matter, than to ſhew an Impatience to get Poſſeſſion of a Crown that had been wreſted from my Father. And, as it ought to have been a great Trouble to the Children of King *James* to be forced to act the Part they did againſt him, even for the Security of Liberty and Religion, (which was truly the Caſe) ſo it ſeem'd to me, that ſhe, who diſcover'd the leſs Ambition, would have the more amiable Character. However, as I was fearful about every thing

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the Princeſs did, while ſhe was thought to be adviſed by me, I could not ſatisfy my own Mind, till I had conſulted with ſeveral Perſons of undiſputed Wiſdom and Integrity, and particularly with the Lady *Ruſſel* of *Southampton-houſe*, and Dr. *Tillotſon*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, I found them all unanimous in the Opinion of the *Expediency of the Settlement propoſed, as Things were then ſituated.* In Concluſion, therefore, I carry'd Dr. *Tillotſon* to the Princeſs, and, upon what he ſaid to her, ſhe took care that no Diſturbance ſhould be made by her pretended Friends, the *Jacobites*, who had preſſed her earneſtly to form an Oppoſition.

This is the true Account of my Proceeding in that Affair; and, I believe that ſome Events which ſoon follow'd it, and which in part occaſion'd the memorable Quarrel between the two Siſters, will ſufficiently clear me from all Suſpicion of intending an intereſted, baſe Courtſhip to that Reign, in Violation of the Attachment I ow'd the Princeſs.

It is certain, and by every Body known, that the immediate Occaſion of the open Breach between her Majeſty and the Princeſs of *Denmark*, was the Princeſs's refuſing to obey the Queen's Command *to remove me from about her Perſon.* But no one, I think, can be ſo fooliſh as to imagine that the Queen's Diſlike of me was only on account of my being the Wife of Lord *Marlborough*, who happen'd then to be in Diſgrace with the King; or that her Majeſty would have inſiſted on a Demand ſo painful to her Siſter, had they till then liv'd together in the Harmony, which ſhould naturally be preſerved between two Siſters, eſpecially when embark'd in one common Cauſe againſt a Father in Defence of Religion.

To clear up this Matter then, and to diſcover the true Sources of that famous Quarrel, it will be neceſſary

neceſſary to recur to ſome preceding Events which unfortunately led the Way to it.

On the Arrival of Queen *Mary* in *England*, the Princeſs of *Denmark* went to meet her, and there was great Appearance of Kindneſs between them, But this quickly wore off, and a viſible Coldneſs enſued; which I believe was partly occaſion'd by the Perſuaſion the King had, that the Prince and Princeſs had been of more uſe to him, than they were ever like to be again, and partly by the different Characters, and Humours of the two Siſters. It was indeed impoſſible they ſhould be very agreeable Companions to each other; becauſe Queen *Mary* grew weary of any Body who would not talk a great deal; and the Princeſs was ſo ſilent that ſhe rarely ſpoke more than was neceſſary to anſwer a Queſtion. But this was not all. In the very Beginning of that Reign there happen'd ſome Events, which, as they diſcover'd an uncommon Diſregard in the Queen for her Siſter, muſt naturally produce an anſwerable Diſcontent in the Princeſs. And here I cannot forget ſaying, that whatever good Qualities Queen *Mary* had to make her popular, it is too evident by many Inſtances *that ſhe wanted Bowels.*

Of this ſhe ſeem'd to give an unqueſtionable Proof the firſt Day ſhe came to *Whitehall*. I was one of thoſe who had the Honour to wait on her to her own Apartment. She ran about it, looking into every Cloſet and Conveniency, and turning up the Quilts upon the Bed, as People do when they come into an Inn, and with no other Sort of Concern in her Appearance, but ſuch as they expreſs; a Behaviour, which, tho' at that Time I was extremely careſs'd by her, I thought very ſtrange and unbecoming. For, whatever Neceſſity there was of depoſing King *James*, he was ſtill her Father,

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who had been ſo lately driven from that Chamber, and that Bed; and, if ſhe felt no Tenderneſs, I thought ſhe ſhould at leaſt have look'd grave, or even penſively ſad, at ſo melancholly a Reverſe of his Fortune. But I kept theſe Thoughts in my own Breaſt, not imparting them even to my Miſtreſs, to whom I could ſay any thing with all the Freedom imaginable. And it was impoſſible for any Body to labour more than I did to keep the two Siſters in perfect Union and Friendſhip; thinking it beſt for them both not to quarrel, when their true Intereſt and Safety were jointly concern'd to ſupport the Revolution. But how impracticable the Preſervation of this Union was render'd by the Queen herſelf will ſufficiently appear by what I am now going to relate.

The Princeſs, ſoon after the King's coming to *Whitehall*, had a Mind to leave her Lodgings (the Way from which to the Queen's Apartment was very inconvenient) and go to thoſe that had been the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*'s, which the King on her Requeſt told her ſhe ſhould have. But the Princeſs requeſting alſo (for the Conveniency of her Servants) ſome other Lodgings that lay neareſt to thoſe of the Ducheſs, this Matter met with Difficulty; tho' her Highneſs in Exchange for what ſhe aſk'd was to give the whole Cockpit (which was more than an Equivalent) to be diſpos'd of for the King's Uſe.. For the Duke of *Devonſhire* took into his Head, that could he have the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*'s Lodgings, where there was a fine Room for Balls, it would give him a very magnificent Air. And it was very plain, that, while this Matter was in Debate, between the King and Queen and Princeſs, my Lord *Devonſhire*'s chief Buſineſs was, to raiſe ſo many Difficulties in making the Princeſs eaſy in thoſe Lodgings, as at laſt to gain

his Point. After many Converſations upon the Affair, the Queen told the Princeſs, *That ſhe could not let her have the Lodgings ſhe deſired for her Servants, till my Lord* Devonſhire *had reſolved whether he would have them or a Part of the* Cockpit: Upon which the Princeſs anſwer'd, *She would then ſtay where ſhe was, for ſhe would not have my Lord* Devonſhire's *Leavings*. So ſhe took the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*'s Apartment, granted her at firſt, and uſed it for her Children, remaining herſelf at the Cockpit.

Much about the ſame Time the Princeſs, who had a Fondneſs for the Houſe at *Richmond* (where ſhe had liv'd when a Child) and who, beſides, thought the Air of that Place good for the Children, deſir'd that Houſe of the Queen; but that likewiſe was refus'd her, tho' for many Years no Uſe had been made of it, but for Madame *Poſſaire*, a Siſter of my Lady *Orkney*'s, and Mr. *Hill*.

The Princeſs, notwithſtanding theſe Mortifications, continu'd to pay all imaginable Reſpect to the King and Queen. But this did not hinder her Majeſty from expreſſing a great deal of Diſpleaſure, when ſome Steps were made in Parliament towards ſettling a Revenue on the Prince and Princeſs. Taking her Siſter one Night to taſk for it, ſhe aſk'd her, *What was the Meaning of thoſe Proceedings?* To which the Princeſs anſwer'd, *She heard her Friends had a Mind to make her ſome Settlement*. The Queen haſtily reply'd with a very imperious Air, *Pray what Friends have you but the King and me?* I had not the Honour to attend the Princeſs that Night; but when ſhe came back, ſhe repeated this to me. And indeed I never ſaw her expreſs ſo much Reſentment as ſhe did at this Uſage; and I think it muſt be allow'd ſhe had great Reaſon. For it was unjuſt in her Siſter not to allow her a decent Proviſion, without an entire

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Dependance on the King. And beſides, the Princeſs had in a ſhort Time learnt that ſhe muſt be very miſerable, if ſhe was to have no Support but the Friendſhip of the two Perſons her Majeſty had mentioned.

After this the Queen ſaid no more to the Princeſs on the Subject of the Settlement, though they met every Day; and the Affair went on ſo well in the Houſe of Commons, that her Friends were encouraged to propoſe for her a much larger Revenue than was at laſt obtained; to prevent which, by gaining Time, the King prorogued the Parliament.

The Buſineſs however was reſumed again at the next Meeting; and then all poſſible Endeavours were uſed, to engage me by Flattery and by Fear, to diſſuade the Princeſs from the Purſuit of a Settlement. My Lady *Fitzharding*, who was more than any Body in the Queen's Favour, and for whom it was well known that I had a ſingular Affection, was the Perſon chiefly employed in this Undertaking. Sometimes ſhe attacked me on the Side of my own Intereſt, telling me, *That if I would not put an End to Meaſures ſo diſagreeable to the King and Queen, it would certainly be the Ruin of my Lord, and conſequently of all our Family.* When ſhe found that this had no Effect, ſhe endeavoured to alarm my Fears for the Princeſs, by ſaying, *That thoſe Meaſures would in all Probability ruin her: For no Body, but ſuch as flattered me, believed the Princeſs would carry her Point; and in Caſe ſhe did not, the King would not think himſelf obliged to do any Thing for her. That it was perfect Madneſs in me to perſiſt, and I had better ten thouſand Times perſuade the Princeſs to let the Thing fall, and ſo make all eaſy to the King and Queen.*

But all this, and a great deal more that was

ſaid, was ſo far from inclining me to do what was deſired of me, that it only made me more anxious about the Succeſs of the Princeſs's Affair, and more earneſt, if poſſible, in the Proſecution of it. For, as I would have died, rather than have made my Court to that Reign, by ſacrificing the Intereſt of the Princeſs; ſo there was nothing I dreaded more, than, by the leaſt Appearance of Negligence, or Coldneſs in the preſent Cauſe, to give Ground to ſuſpect me of having been flattered, or frightened into ſo baſe a Conduct. I employed therefore all the Powers I was capable of exerting to advance the Deſign. I knew the Thing was reaſonable, the Princeſs's Happineſs was concerned in it, and there was a fair Proſpect of ſucceeding. Beſides, I thought that whatever happened in Parliament, the King could not well avoid giving ſome Allowance to the next Heir to the Crown. And, if he ſhould give her nothing, ſhe had however, by the Marriage-Settlement, 20,000 *l.* a Year, which would keep her in a retired Way, much more agreeably than ſhe could hope to live at Court, if ſhe depended on his Generoſity; of which I had no Opinion: For the late Lord *Godolphin* had told me, that the King, on ſome Meeting at the Treaſury, ſpeaking of the civil Liſt, *wondered very much how the Princeſs could ſpend* 30,000 l. *a year*, though it appeared afterwards that ſome of his Favourites had more. And there were other Parts of the King's Conduct (which ſhall be mentioned in a proper Place) whereby it ſufficiently appeared, that I did not miſtake in my Opinion of his Diſpoſition.

But, to return to the Parliament. A Day or two before it was put to the Vote in the Houſe of Commons, I was extremely ſurpriſed by a Meſſage from the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, who, as he did not viſit me, ſent to deſire to ſpeak with me about Buſineſs.

Buſineſs. When he came, he told me, *That he was ſent by the King, who promiſed to give the Princeſs* 50,000 l. *a Year, if ſhe would deſiſt from ſoliciting the Settlement by Parliament, and that he was confident his Majeſty would keep his Word: That if he did not, he was ſure he would not ſerve him an Hour after he broke it. I ſaid, that ſuch a Reſolution might be very right, as to his* Grace, *but that I did not ſee it would be of any Uſe to the Princeſs, if his Majeſty ſhould not perform the Promiſe.* The Duke, to convince me of the Reaſonableneſs of what he propoſed, added a great deal, which had no Effect; and I deſired he would attend the Princeſs herſelf, to which he conſented. I went to her at his Requeſt to acquaint her of his Coming. Her Anſwer to him was, *That ſhe could not think herſelf in the Wrong to deſire a Security for what was to ſupport her; and that the Buſineſs was now gone ſo far, that ſhe thought it reaſonable to ſee what her Friends could do for her.*

I need not tell you that the Princeſs carried her Point, and that 50,000 l. was ſettled by Parliament. For when the King found that he could not perſuade her to an entire Dependency upon him, he compounded the Matter with her Friends upon theſe Terms, to hinder their inſiſting on a larger Settlement. The Parliament had ſhewed an Inclination that Way: but it was at length thought adviſable by the Princeſs's Friends, that ſhe ſhould accept of 50,000 *l.* ſecurely ſettled, rather than have any farther Struggle, conſidering the great Power and Influence of the Crown, by Means of its Dependants.

Nevertheleſs, I was ſo fearful, leſt the Princeſs ſhould ſuffer for Want of good Advice, that after I had heard of the Commons voting 50,000 *l.* a Year, I ſent to ſpeak with my Lord *Rocheſter*, and aſked his Opinion, whether the Princeſs ought to be ſatisfied,

ſatisfied, or whether it was reaſonable ſhe ſhould try to get more. (I did not then know how much his Heart was bent on making his Court to the Queen.) His Anſwer to me was, *That he thought, not only that the Princeſs ought to be ſatisfied with* 50,000 l. *but that ſhe ought to have taken it in any Way the King and Queen pleaſed.* Which made me reflect that he would not have liked that Advice in the Caſe of his own 4000 *l.* a Year from the Poſt-Office ſettled on him and his Son.

But I was not ſo uncivil as to ſpeak my Thought, nor ſo fooliſh as to ſtruggle any longer. For moſt of thoſe who had been prevailed with to promote the Settlement were Tories, among whom my Lord *Rocheſter* was a very great Man. Their Zeal on the preſent Occaſion was, doubtleſs, to thwart King *William*; for I never obſerved that, on any other, they diſcovered much Regard for the Princeſs of *Denmark*.

The Succeſs of the Affair was chiefly imputed to the Steadineſs and Diligence of my Lord *Marlborough* and me, both by thoſe, to whom it was ſo exceedingly diſagreeable, and by her, to whoſe Happineſs it was then ſo neceſſary.

On one ſide, it was the chief Source of all the Diſſatisfaction of the King and Queen with us; and on the other, it was acknowledged by the Princeſs with as deep a Senſe of the Kindneſs, as could be expreſſed, and in a Manner generous to a very high Degree.

A little above a Year after the Settlement was made, I was ſurprized with a Letter from her, wherein ſhe offered me the yearly Penſion of 1000 *l.* Some of her Words are theſe; *I have had ſomething to ſay to you a great while, and I did not know how to go about it. I have deſigned, ever ſince my Revenue was ſettled, to deſire you would accept of a thouſand Pounds*

Pounds a Year.—— I beg you would only look upon it as an Earneſt of my Good-will, but never mention any Thing of it to me; for I ſhall be aſhamed to have any Notice taken of ſuch a Thing from one that deſerves more than I ſhall be ever able to return.

And ſome Time afterwards, a little Delay being made by her Treaſurer in the Payment of it, ſhe wrote another Letter, wherein were theſe Words; *'Tis long ſince I mentioned this Thing to dear Mrs.* Freeman. *She has all the Reaſon in the World to believe I did not mean what I ſaid, or that I have changed my Mind, which are both ſo ill Qualities, that I cannot bear you ſhould have Cauſe to think your faithful* Morley *is capable of being guilty of either.*

The Circumſtances of my Family at this Time were not very great; yet I was ſo far from catching at ſo free and large an Offer, that I could not perſuade myſelf to accept of it, till I had ſent the firſt Letter to Lord *Godolphin*, and conſulted him upon the Matter. It was his Opinion, that there was no Reaſon in the World for me to refuſe it. And perhaps no one elſe will think otherwiſe, who believes, as he did, that the ſettling of the Princeſs's Revenue had been chiefly owing to my Lord *Marlborough*'s indefatigable Induſtry, and to mine.

The next Difference that happened between the Siſters, was upon the Prince's Deſign of going to Sea. He was carried to this Reſolution by his Unwillingneſs to ſtay at Home, while there was ſo much Action Abroad; and by the Remembrance of the extreme ill Uſage he had met with, when at a great Expence, he attended his Majeſty into *Ireland*. For the King would not ſuffer his Royal Highneſs to go in the Coach with him: An Affront never put upon a Perſon of that Rank before.

The Prince however ſubmitted to this Indignity, it being too late to take any Meaſures to avoid it.

Nor,

Nor, during the whole Campaign, did he fail in any Part of Duty or Reſpect, though the King never took more Notice of him, than if he had been a Page of the Back-Stairs.

You will allow, I believe, that it was very natural for the Prince to chuſe a Sea Expedition, rather than expoſe himſelf again to the like contemptuous Uſage. On his taking Leave of the King, who was going to *Flanders*, he aſked his Majeſty's Permiſſion to ſerve him at Sea as a Volunteer, and without any Command. The King ſaid nothing; but immediately embraced him by Way of Adieu. Silence in ſuch Caſes being generally taken for Conſent, the Prince prepared his Equipage, and ſent every Thing on board. But the King, as it afterwards appeared, had left Orders with the Queen, that ſhe ſhould neither ſuffer the Prince to go to Sea, nor yet forbid him to go, if ſhe could ſo contrive Matters, as to make his ſtaying at Home his own Choice.

The Queen obſerved the King's Directions very exactly. She ſent a great Lord to me, to deſire I would perſuade the Princeſs to keep the Prince from going to Sea; and this I was to compaſs, without letting the Princeſs know that it was the Queen's Deſire. I anſwered, *That I had all the Duty imaginable for the Queen, but that no Conſideration could make me ſo failing to my Miſtreſs, as I ſhould think myſelf, if I ſpoke to her upon that Occaſion, and concealed the Reaſon of it. That it was natural for the Princeſs to wiſh the Prince might ſtay at Home, and be out of Danger; but whether ſhe could prevail in that Matter, I did very much doubt. That nevertheleſs I would ſay to the Princeſs whatever her Majeſty pleaſed, provided I might have the Liberty to make Uſe of her Name.* After this the Queen ſent my Lord *Rocheſter* to me, to deſire much the ſame Thing. *The Prince was not to go*

to

to Sea, and this not going was to appear *his own Choice.* But after ſo much Noiſe as had been made about his going, the Prince thought that to ſend for his Things back, without giving any Reaſon for changing his Deſign, would be making a very ridiculous Figure, and therefore he would not ſubmit. Upon which the Queen ſent my Lord *Nottingham* in Form, poſitively to forbid the Prince of *Denmark*'s going to Sea.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Things, the Queen and Princeſs lived, in Appearance, for ſome Time after, as if nothing had happened, 'till the King was pleaſed (without publickly aſſigning any particular Reaſon) to remove my Lord *Marlborough* from all his Employments. His Majeſty ſent Lord *Nottingham* to tell him, that he had no more Occaſion for his Service. This Event might perhaps be well enough accounted for, by ſaying, that Lord *Portland* had ever a great Prejudice to my Lord *Marlborough*, and that my Lady *Orkney*, (then Mrs. *Villiers*) though I had never done her any Injury, except not making Court to her, was my implacable Enemy. But, I think, it is not to be doubted, that the principal Cauſe of the King's Meſſage, was the Court's Diſlike that any Body ſhould have ſo much Intereſt with the Princeſs as I had, who would not implicitly obey every Command of the King and Queen. The Diſgrace of my Lord *Marlborough* therefore was deſigned as a Step towards removing me from about her.

A Letter from the Queen to her Siſter, which I ſhall preſently give you, affords Ground for this Opinion. And the Behaviour of my Lord *Rocheſter*, who was much in the Queen's Favour, and Councils, confirms it. He had warmly oppoſed my coming into the Princeſs's Family, and he now ſhewed himſelf very deſirous to have me removed, believ-

ing, without Queſtion, that could this be compaſſed, he ſhould infallibly have the Government of both Siſters: Though certainly, as to the Princeſs, he never diſcovered any ſuch Regard for her, as ſhould give him a Title to her Confidence.

But to come to the Sequel of the King's Meſſage. I ſolemnly proteſt, that the Loſs of my Lord *Marlborough*'s Employments would never have broke my Reſt one ſingle Night upon Account of Intereſt; but, I confeſs, *the being turned out* is ſomething very diſagreeable to my Temper. And, I believe it was three Weeks, before my beſt Friends could perſuade me, that it was fit for me to go to a Court, which (as I thought) had uſed my Lord *Marlborough* very ill. However at laſt they prevailed. And I remember the chief Argument was urged by my Lord *Godolphin*, who ſaid, that it could not be thought, I made any mean Court to the King and Queen, ſince to attend the Princeſs, was only paying my Duty where it was owing.

I waited therefore on my Miſtreſs to *Kenſington*. The Conſequence was ſuch, as my Friends, having no Reaſon to apprehend it, had never thought of. The next Day the Queen wrote to her Siſter the following Letter.

Kenſington, Friday the 5th of February.

HAving ſomething to ſay to you, which I know will not be very pleaſing, I chuſe rather to write it firſt, being unwilling to ſurpriſe you; though, I think, what I am going to tell you, ſhould not, if you give yourſelf the Time to think, that never any Body was ſuffered to live at Court in my Lord *Marlborough*'s Circumſtances. I need not repeat the Cauſe he has given the King to do what he has done, nor his Unwillingneſs at all Times to come to ſuch Extremities, though People do deſerve it.

 I hope,

I hope, you do me the Juſtice to believe, it is as much againſt my Will, that I now tell you, that, after this, it is very unfit Lady *Marlborough* ſhould ſtay with you, ſince that gives her Huſband ſo juſt a Pretence of being where he ought not.

I think, I might have expected you ſhould have ſpoke to me of it. And the King and I, both believing it, made us ſtay thus long. But ſeeing you was ſo far from it, that you brought Lady *Marlborough* hither laſt Night, makes us reſolve to put it off no longer; but tell you, ſhe muſt not ſtay; and that I have all the Reaſon imaginable to look upon your bringing her, as the ſtrangeſt Thing that ever was done. Nor could all my Kindneſs for you (which is ever ready to turn all you do the beſt Way, at any other Time) have hindred me ſhewing you that Moment, but I conſidered your Condition, and that made me maſter myſelf ſo far, as not to take Notice of it then.

But now I muſt tell you, it was very unkind in a Siſter, would have been very uncivil in an Equal, and I need not ſay I have more to claim. Which, though my Kindneſs would make me never exact, yet when I ſee the Uſe you would make of it, I muſt tell you, I know what is due to me, and expect to have it from you. 'Tis upon that Account, I tell you plainly, Lady *Marlborough* muſt not continue with you in the Circumſtances her Lord is.

I know this will be uneaſy to you, and I am ſorry for it; and it is very much ſo to me to ſay all this to you, for I have all the real Kindneſs imaginable for you, and as I ever have, ſo will always do my Part to live with you as Siſters ought. That is, not only like ſo near Relations, but like Friends. And, as ſuch, I did think to write to you. For I would have made myſelf believe your Kindneſs for

her made you at firſt forget that you ſhould h ve for the King and me; and reſolved to put you in Mind of it myſelf, neither of us being willing to come to harſher Ways.

But the Sight of Lady *Marlborough* having changed my Thoughts, does naturally alter my Stile. And ſince by that I ſee how little you ſeem to conſider what even in common Civility you owe us, I have told it you plainly; but withal aſſure you, that let me have never ſo much Reaſon to take any Thing ill of you, my Kindneſs is ſo great, that I can paſs over moſt Things, and live with you, as becomes me. And I deſire to do ſo merely from that Motive. For I do love you, as my Siſter, and nothing but yourſelf can make me do otherwiſe. And that is the Reaſon I chuſe to write this, rather than tell it you, that you may overcome your firſt Thoughts; and when you have well conſidered, you will find, that though the Thing be hard, (which I again aſſure you I am ſorry for) yet it is not unreaſonable, but what has ever been practiſed, and what you yourſelf would do, were you in my Place.

I will end this with once more deſiring you to conſider the Matter impartially, and take Time for it. I do not deſire an Anſwer preſently, becauſe I would not have you give a raſh one. I ſhall come to your Drawing-Room To-morrow before you play, becauſe you know why I cannot make one: At ſome other Time we ſhall reaſon the Buſineſs calmly; which I will willingly do, or any Thing elſe that may ſhew, it ſhall never be my Fault if we do not live kindly together: Nor will I ever be other by Choice, but your true loving and affectionate Siſter.

M. R.

I am perhaps too much concerned in the Affair

to

to be a proper Judge of this Letter. However, I ſhall take the Liberty to remark, that it ſeems not eaſy to reconcile the Queen's being ſorry *to ſay ſo much*, with her employing at the ſame Time ſuch *uſeleſs Repetitions*; as if it had been a Pleaſure to her to remind her Siſter of the Diſtance between them, and of what was due from the Princeſs of *Denmark* to the Queen of *England*. And I have wondered too, that ſo much Kindneſs for a Siſter, big with Child, and ſo much Piety (for it muſt be obſerved the Queen was in Devotion) did not hinder her from doing a Thing which ſhe owns is *hard*. Her Majeſty indeed ſays, that *though it be hard, it is not unreaſonable; but what has ever been practiſed, and what the Princeſs herſelf would do in her Place.* What the Princeſs would have done in her Place, no Body can tell: (She herſelf thought that ſhe would not have done like the Queen:) But that it was not the *conſtant Practice* is certain from many Inſtances to the contrary, and particularly one, at that very Time in the Caſe of the Marchioneſs of *Hallifax*. And if the Practice was not conſtant, how reaſonable it was for the Queen to inſiſt upon it in my Caſe, I believe I may ſafely leave to the Judgment of her moſt zealous Advocates.

For how diſagreeable ſoever to the Queen my Conduct had been, it would have proved no eaſy Taſk to her, to find in any Part of it a plauſible Reaſon for preſſing the Princeſs to part with me. Would any Perſon, who deſerves to be in the Service (not to ſay intimate Friendſhip) of a Princeſs, have acted otherwiſe than I did, in Relation to thoſe Points in which only I can be ſuppoſed to have diſobliged their Majeſties?

Would it have become me to be indifferent in the Affair of the Succeſſion to the Crown? and to be willing, without the Neceſſity of publick Good, that

that my Miſtreſs, my Friend, the Princeſs of *Denmark*, ſhould yield her Birthright to the Prince of *Orange?*

Could I, conſiſtently with Honour, have adviſed the Princeſs to deſiſt from her Attempt to get a Maintenance ſettled by Parliament, and leave herſelf to the Generoſity of a King and Queen, who, by ſeveral Slights and Affronts put upon her, had ſhewed how very little they were concerned about her Happineſs?

Was the Part which the Queen would have had me act, in Relation to the Prince's going to Sea, ſuch, as any Perſon, who had the leaſt Regard for his Highneſs's Character and Glory, would have conſented to perform?

Doubtleſs my Behaviour on all theſe Occaſions was criminal in the Queen's Eyes; but this was only becauſe ſhe was Queen; for ſhe had formerly looked upon my Attachment and Fidelity to her Siſter in a very different Light.

As a Proof of this, I ſhall give your Lordſhip two Letters, which I received from her when ſhe was Princeſs of *Orange*. I had many others in the ſame Stile, which were loſt in the Hurry of the Revolution.

Loo, September the 30th.

DR. *Stanley*'s going to *England* is too good an Opportunity for me to loſe of aſſuring Lady *Churchill*, ſhe cannot give me greater Satisfaction than letting me know the firm Reſolution both Lord *Churchill* and you have taken, never to be wanting in what you owe your Religion. Such a generous Reſolution I am ſure muſt make you deſerve the Eſteem of all good People, and my Siſter's in Particular. I need ſay nothing of mine, you have it upon a double Account, as my Siſter's Friend, beſides what I have ſaid already; and you may

may be aſſured, that I ſhall always be glad of an Occaſion to ſhew it both to your Lord and you.

I have nothing more to add; for your Friendſhip makes my Siſter as dear to you as to me, and I am perſuaded we ſhall ever agree in our Care for her; as, I believe, ſhe and I ſhould in our Kindneſs for you, were we near enough to renew our Acquaintance.

MARIE.

IF it were as eaſy for me to write to my Lady *Churchill* as it is hard to find a ſafe Hand, ſhe might juſtly wonder at my long Silence; but I hope ſhe does me more Juſtice than to think it my Fault. I have little to ſay at preſent. To anſwer the melancholy Reflections in your laſt is now too late; *but I hope my Siſter and you will never part.* I ſend you here one for her, and have not any more Time now than only to aſſure you, that I ſhall never forget the Kindneſs you ſhewed to her who is ſo dear to me. That, and all the Good I have heard of you, will make me ever your affectionate Friend, which I ſhall be ready to ſhew otherwiſe than by Words whenever I have an Opportunity.

Your Lordſhip ſees by theſe Letters that the very ſame Tenour of Behaviour towards the Princeſs, which afterwards diſpleas'd the Queen, gave me at that Time a Recommendation to her Affection; but the Caſe was alter'd. And the Princeſs of *Denmark* was now at the Queen of *England*'s Command, to put away *that kind, dear Friend* whom the Princeſs of *Orange* had *hoped ſhe would never part with.* And ſhe was to do this, nor for any Fault I had committed, but only becauſe I was the Wife of my Lord *Marlborough*, who happened to be in Diſgrace with the King.

Had

Had the Queen really had Cuſtom on her Side to countenance her in this harſh Command, yet ſurely what was mere Cuſtom, and had no Law to ſupport it, might well have been neglected in the preſent Caſe in favour of Reaſon and Humanity.

She calls her Command *hard*, becauſe of the *Kindneſs* ſhe knew the Princeſs had for me. But had ſhe mentioned the *Reaſons* too of that Kindneſs, the Severity of her Injunction would have been more conſpicuous. I ſpeak not know of the Princeſs's Inclination for me, previous to Services on my Part, but that of Kindneſs which proceeded from her Experience of my diſintereſted Attachment to her Intereſt and Happineſs. I ſay *diſintereſted* Attachment. For the Princeſs knew that the Queen, after her coming into *England*, did me many Honours which would have engaged ſome People to fix the Foundation of their future Fortune in her Favour; and that there was no Perſon more likely than I, to riſe high upon this Bottom, if I could have been tempted to break the inviolable Laws of Friendſhip. Nor was there the leaſt Probability that the Princeſs ſhould outlive the King and Queen to recompenſe my Fidelity, by ſuch Means as the royal Prerogative furniſhes. And as to the preſent Power the Princeſs had to enrich me, her Revenue was no ſuch vaſt Thing, as that I could propoſe to draw any mighty Matters from thence; and beſides, Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt* had the Management of it; I had no Share in that Service.

I might add here, as a farther Proof of the Purity and Integrity of my Conduct, what I fancy you will eaſily believe: That on ſome Occaſions I could, without loſing my Miſtreſs's Affection, have ſacrific'd her Cauſe, to make my court to the Queen. But ſo deteſtable a Thought never entered my Soul; nor did I ever by aſking any Favour

of

of the Queen, great or ſmall, for my ſelf or others, give her the leaſt Ground to hope, ſhe could have any hold of me on the Side of my Intereſt.

Before the Princeſs return'd an Anſwer to the Queen's Letter of Command to diſmiſs me, ſhe ſent to my Lord *Rocheſter*, ſhewed him the Anſwer ſhe had prepared, and with all the Earneſtneſs that can be imagined, deſired he would uſe his Intereſt to aſſiſt her, and that he would carry her Letter; which laſt ſhe could by no Means perſuade him to do. He told her he would ſpeak to the Queen, but could not give the Letter to her. So the Princeſs ſent it by one of her own Servants. It contained theſe Words.

YOUR Majeſty was in the Right to think your Letter would be very ſurprizing to me. For you muſt needs be ſenſible enough of the Kindneſs I have for my Lady *Marlborough*, to know, that a Command from you to part with her muſt be the greateſt Mortification in the World to me; and indeed of ſuch a Nature, as I might well have hoped your Kindneſs to me would have always prevented. I am ſatisfied ſhe cannot have been guilty of any Fault to you. And it would be extremely to her Advantage, if I could here repeat every Word that ever ſhe had ſaid to me of you in her whole Life. I confeſs, it is no ſmall Addition to my Trouble to find the Want of your Majeſty's Kindneſs to me upon this Occaſion; ſince I am ſure I have always endeavoured to deſerve it by all the Actions of my Life.

Your Care of my preſent Condition is extremely obliging. And if you would be pleaſed to add to it ſo far, as upon my Account to recal your ſevere Command (as I muſt beg leave to call it in a Matter ſo tender to me, and ſo little reaſonable as I

think, to be impoſed upon me, that you would ſcarce require it from the meaneſt of your Subjects) I ſhould ever acknowledge it as a very agreeable Mark of your Kindneſs to me. And I muſt as freely own, that as I think this Proceeding can be for no other Intent than to give me a very ſenſible Mortification, ſo there is no Miſery that I cannot readily reſolve to ſuffer, rather than the Thoughts of parting with her. If after all this that I have ſaid, I muſt ſtill find my ſelf ſo unhappy as to be farther preſſed in this Matter, yet your Majeſty may be aſſur'd that, as my paſt Actions have given the greateſt Teſtimony of my Reſpect both for the King and you, ſo it ſhall always be my Endeavour, whereever I am, to preſerve it carefully for the Time to come, as becomes

Your Majeſty's
very affectionate Siſter
and Servant,
ANNE.

From the *Cockpit*,
Feb. 6. 1692.

To this the Princeſs received no Anſwer but a Meſſage by my Lord Chamberlain *to forbid my continuing any longer at the Cockpit.*

It was the Opinion of ſeveral People, that the King had no more Power to remove any Body out of that Houſe, than out of any other Buildings on that Side the Park, it having been bought of the Duke of *Leeds*, and ſettled at the Princeſs's Marriage in King *Charles*'s Time on her, and her Heirs. But the Princeſs had reſolved to do every Thing reſpectful to the King and Queen, except yielding in that ſingle Point of parting with me. And therefore inſtead of inſiſting on the Right, which ſhe had in common with every other Subject, *of being Miſtreſs in her own Houſe*, ſhe wrote to the Queen the following Letter.

I am

I Am very ſorry to find that all I have ſaid my ſelf, and my Lord *Rocheſter* for me, has not had Effect enough to keep your Majeſty from perſiſting in a Reſolution, which you are ſatisfied muſt be ſo great Mortification to me, as, to avoid it, I ſhall be obliged to retire, and deprive my ſelf of the Satisfaction of living where I might have frequent Opportunity of aſſuring you of that Duty and Reſpect, which I always have been, and ſhall be deſirous to pay you upon all Occaſions.

My only Conſolation in this Extremity is, that not having done any Thing in all my Life, to deſerve your Unkindneſs, I hope I ſhall not be long under the Neceſſity of abſenting my ſelf from you; the Thought of which is ſo uneaſy to me, that I find my ſelf too much indiſpos'd to give your Majeſty any farther Trouble at this Time.

February 8. 1692.

Though my Lord *Rocheſter* be mention'd in this Letter, as having employ'd his good Offices to prevail with the Queen to change her Determination, there is little Reaſon to think that his Interceſſion could be very warm or urgent after the Refuſal he made to carry the former Letter, though preſſed to it by the moſt earneſt Intreaties.

At the ſame Time that the Princeſs reſolved to leave the Cockpit, ſhe ſent to ſpeak with the Ducheſs of *Somerſet*, of whom ſhe deſir'd to borrow Sion for ſome little Time. The Ducheſs made her many Expreſſions, and very ſoon after, having ſpoke to the Duke of *Somerſet* of it, waited on her again, to acquaint her in a very reſpectful Manner that Sion was at her Service.

As ſoon as this was known, the King did all he could to diſſuade the Duke from letting the Princeſs have the Houſe; but his Grace had too much Great-

think, to be impoſed upon me, that you would ſcarce require it from the meaneſt of your Subjects) I ſhould ever acknowledge it as a very agreeable Mark of your Kindneſs to me. And I muſt as freely own, that as I think this Proceeding can be for no other Intent than to give me a very ſenſible Mortification, ſo there is no Miſery that I cannot readily reſolve to ſuffer, rather than the Thoughts of parting with her. If after all this that I have ſaid, I muſt ſtill find my ſelf ſo unhappy as to be farther preſſed in this Matter, yet your Majeſty may be aſſur'd that, as my paſt Actions have given the greateſt Teſtimony of my Reſpect both for the King and you, ſo it ſhall always be my Endeavour, whereever I am, to preſerve it carefully for the Time to come, as becomes

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neſs of Mind to go back from his Promiſe; ſo there was an End of that Matter.

Before the Princeſs removed from the Cockpit, ſhe waited upon her Majeſty at *Kenſington*, making all the Profeſſions that could be imagined, to which the Queen was as inſenſible as a Statue. When ſhe did anſwer her it was in the Stile of her Letter.

Soon after the Princeſs's going to Sion, a dreadful Plot broke out, which was ſaid to have been hid ſomewhere, I don't know where, in a Flower-Pot; and my Lord *Marlborough* was ſent to the Tower.

To commit a Peer to Priſon it was neceſſary there ſhould be an Affidavit from ſomebody of the Treaſon. My Lord *Romney* therefore, Secretary of State, had ſent to one *Young*, who was then in Jail for Perjury and Forgery, and paid his Fine, in order to make him what they call a *legal Evidence*. For as the Court-Lawyers ſaid, *Young* not having loſt his Ears, was an *irreproachable Witneſs*. I ſhall not dwell on the Story of this Fellow's Villainy, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* having given a full Account of it in Print.

Whether my Lord *Marlborough*'s Conſpiracy with this *Young* was what the Queen meant in her Letter to the Princeſs, where ſhe ſpeaks *of the Cauſe my Lord* Marlborough *had given the* King *to do what he had done, and of his Unwillingneſs to come to ſuch Extremities, though People did deſerve it*, I know not. Nor indeed could I ever learn what Cauſe the King aſſigned for his Diſpleaſure. But it is natural to think he would give the beſt Reaſon he could for uſing in that manner a Man, who had done ſo much for the Revolution. Every one knows, that my Lord *Marlborough* had conſiderable Employments under King *James*, and might have hoped to be as great a Favourite as any Body, could he have aſſiſted in bringing about that unhappy Prince's

Prince's Scheme of fixing Popery and arbitrary Power in *England*. It was highly improbable therefore, that he, who had done ſo much, and ſacrificed ſo much for the Preſervation of the Religion and Liberty of his Country, ſhould on a ſudden engage in a Conſpiracy to deſtroy them. And though theſe Conſiderations had no Weight with the King, they had ſo much with my Lord *Devonſhire*, my Lord *Bradford*, and the late Duke of *Montagu*, that they thought it infamous to ſend my Lord *Marlborough* to Priſon upon ſuch Evidence; and therefore when the Warrant for his Commitment came to be ſign'd at the Council-Table, they refuſed to put their Hands to it, though at that Time they had no particular Friendſhip for him. My Lord *Bradford*'s Behaviour was very remarkable; for he made my Lord *Marlborough* a Viſit in the Tower, while ſome of our Friends, who had lived in our Family like near Relations for many Years, were ſo fearful of doing themſelves Hurt at Court, that in the whole Time of his Confinement, they never made him or me a Viſit, nor ſent to enquire how we did, for fear it ſhould be known.

My Lord *Marlborough*'s being ſent to the Tower having obliged me to go and ſtay at *London* to attend the Affair of his Releaſement, I there received, among many others, in the ſame Stile of Tenderneſs, the following Letters from the Princeſs. I have tranſcribed theſe, to ſhew you her Goodneſs to me upon all Occaſions, and to give you a more lively Impreſſion of the Cruelty of the Queen's Command, that injoin'd her Siſter to part with a Friend ſo dear to her Heart, merely to gratify the royal Pride in a Point of Ceremony.

To Lady Marlborough.

THO' I have nothing to ſay to my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I cannot help inquiring how ſhe and her Lord does. If it be not convenient to you to write, when you receive this, either keep the Bearer till it is, or let me have a Word or two from you by the next Opportunity when it is eaſy to you; for I would not be a Conſtraint to you at any Time, much leſs now, when you have ſo many Things to do, and think of. All I deſire to hear from you at ſuch a Time as this, is, that you and your's are well. Which, next to having my Lord *Marlborough* out of his Enemies Power, is the beſt News than can come to her, who, to the laſt Moment of her Life, will be dear Mrs. *Freeman*'s.

Friday Night.

To Lady Marlborough.

I Give dear Mrs. *Freeman* a thouſand Thanks for her kind Letter, which gives me an Account of her Concerns; and this is what I deſire more to know than any other News. I ſhall reckon the Days and Hours, and think the Time very long till the Term is out, for both your Sake and my Lord *Marlborough*'s, and that he may be at Liberty, and your Mind at Eaſe. You do not ſay any Thing of your Health, which makes me hope you are well, at leaſt not worſe than when you were here. And, dear Mrs. *Freeman* don't ſay when I can ſee you, if I come to Town; therefore I aſk what Day will be moſt convenient to you? For, though all Days are alike to me, I ſhould be glad you would name one, becauſe I am to take ſome Phyſick, and would order that accordingly. I confeſs I long to ſee you, but am not ſo unreaſonable to deſire that Satisfaction till it is eaſy to you. I wiſh with all my Soul, that you may not be a true Propheteſs,

and

and that it may be ſoon in our Power to enjoy one another's Company, more than it has been of late; which is all I covet in this World.

To Lady Marlborough.

I Am ſorry with all my Heart, dear Mrs. *Freeman* meets with ſo many Delays; but it is a Comfort, they cannot keep Lord *Marlborough* in the *Tower* longer than the End of the Term; and, I hope, when the Parliament ſits, Care will be taken that People may not be clapp'd up for nothing, or elſe there will be no living in Quiet for any Body, but inſolent *Dutch*, and ſneaking mercenary *Engliſhmen*. Dear Mrs. *Freeman*, farewel; be aſſured your faithful Mrs. *Morley* can never change; and, I hope, you do not in the leaſt doubt of her Kindneſs, which, if it be poſſible, encreaſes every Day, and that can never have an End but with her Life. Mrs. *Morley* hopes her dear Mrs. *Freeman* will let her have the Satisfaction of hearing from her again To-morrow.

Thurſday.

To Lady Marlborough.

DEAR Mrs. *Freeman* may eaſily imagine, I cannot have much to ſay, ſince I ſaw her. However, I muſt write two Words. For though I believe ſhe does not doubt of my Conſtancy, ſeeing how baſe and falſe all the World is, I am of that Temper, I think, I can never ſay enough to aſſure you of it. Therefore give me leave to aſſure you they can never change me. And there is no Miſery I cannot readily reſolve to ſuffer, rather than the Thought of parting from you. And I do ſwear, I would ſooner be torn in Pieces, than alter this my Reſolution. My dear Mrs. *Freeman* I long to hear from you.

To Lady Marlborough.

MY dear Mrs. *Freeman* was in ſo diſmal a Way when ſhe went from hence, that I cannot forbear aſking, how ſhe does, and if ſhe has yet any Hopes of Lord *Marlborough*'s being ſoon at Liberty. For God's Sake, have a Care of your dear ſelf, and give as little Way to melancholy Thoughts as you can. If I could be as often with you as thoſe that have it in their Power, but not in their Will, you ſhould ſeldom be alone; but though I have not that Satisfaction, as much as I deſire, I aſſure you, my Heart is always with you; and if Wiſhes ſignified any Thing, you would have no uneaſy Minute.

Though I long of all Things to hear from my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I am not ſo unreaſonable as to expect the Groom ſhould come back To-night, if he comes to you at an unſeaſonable Hour; therefore keep him 'till it is eaſy to you to write. But I am in Hopes, I ſhall have a Word or two before I go to Bed; becauſe my dear Mrs. *Freeman* has promiſed I ſhall hear from you.

I fancy Aſs's Milk would do you good, and that is what you might take Morning or Afternoon, as it is moſt convenient.

I had no ſooner ſealed my Letter, but I received my dear Mrs. *Freeman*'s, for which I give her a thouſand Thanks, and am overjoyed at the good News you ſend me, which, I hope, will cure you of every Thing.

To Lady Marlborough.

I Am in Pain to know how my dear Mrs. *Freeman* does, for ſhe is not uſed to complain, nor to be let Blood for a little Thing; and therefore I cannot help enquiring what is the Matter, and how ſhe finds herſelf now? I can come either to *London* or

or *Camden-Houſe* To-morrow or *Monday*, or any other Day. If you will let me know where and when, and what Time I may have the Satisfaction of ſeeing you, your faithful *Morley* will be ſure to meet you.

Your Lordſhip ſees by theſe Letters of Tenderneſs, how impoſſible it muſt have been for the Princeſs to comply with the Queen's Deſire, had it appeared leſs unreaſonable than it did. However, ſhe was very attentive not to be wanting in any Point of due Reſpect. Falling in Labour at *Sion*, ſhe ſent Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt* to preſent her humble Duty to the Queen, and acquaint her with it, and that ſhe was much worſe than ſhe uſed to be; as ſhe really was. The Queen did not think fit to ſee the Meſſenger, nor to make any Anſwer.

Notwithſtanding this, when the Princeſs was brought to Bed of a Child, that died ſome Minutes after the Birth, ſhe ſent my Lady *Charlotte Beverwaret* to inform her Majeſty of what had happened. My Lady waited ſome conſiderable Time before the Queen ſaw her. The Reaſon of this was my Lord *Rocheſter*'s not being preſent, when the Meſſage came. After ſome Converſation with him, the Queen ſent for my Lady *Charlotte*, and told her, *ſhe would go that Afternoon and ſee the Princeſs at* Sion, and ſhe was there very ſoon after the Notice arrived.

She came attended by the Ladies *Derby* and *Scarborough*. I am ſure it will be neceſſary to have a good Voucher to perſuade your Lordſhip of the Truth of what I am going to relate. The Princeſs herſelf told me, that the Queen never aſked her how ſhe did, nor expreſſed the leaſt Concern for her Condition, nor ſo much as took her by the Hand. The Salutation was this: *I have made the*

firſt Step, by coming to you, and I now expect you ſhould make the next by removing my Lady Marlborough. The Princeſs anſwered, *That ſhe had never in all her Life diſobeyed her, except in that one Particular, which ſhe hoped would, ſome Time or other, appear as unreaſonable to her Majeſty, as it did to her.* Upon which the Queen roſe up and went away, repeating to the Prince, as he led her to the Coach, the ſame Thing ſhe had ſaid to the Princeſs.

My Lady *Derby* did not come to the Bed Side, nor make the leaſt Enquiry after her Health, though the Princeſs had recommended her, for Groom of the Stole, to the Queen, on her Acceſſion to the Crown. Lady *Scarborough* indeed behaved herſelf as became her on that Occaſion, and afterwards aſked the Queen's Leave to viſit me, becauſe we had been old Acquaintance; which was granted.

I have heard that the Queen, when ſhe came Home, was pleaſed to ſay, *ſhe was ſorry ſhe had ſpoke to the Princeſs; who,* ſhe confeſſed, *had ſo much Concern upon her at renewing the Affair, that ſhe trembled and looked as white as the Sheets.* But if her Majeſty was really touched with Compaſſion, it is plain, by what followed, that ſhe overcame herſelf extremely. For preſently after this Viſit, all Company was forbid waiting on the Princeſs; and her Guards were taken away.

I do not ſee how the moſt zealous Advocates for the Queen can vindicate her in theſe Proceedings to an only Siſter, nor how a Man of that mighty Underſtanding, my Lord *Rocheſter* was ſaid to have, could think, that a Viſit (which the Queen made to every Counteſs) was ſo extraordinary a Grace to a Siſter, that it ſhould oblige her to do, what ſhe had retired from the Court to avoid.

I muſt obſerve to your Lordſhip, that the King was

was not in *England*, when this laſt Thing happened. My Lord *Rocheſter* was the Queen's Oracle; and whether he had any Share or not in beginning the ill Uſage of the Princeſs, he was without Queſtion the Proſecutor of it.

I fancy, you have been wiſhing, during all this Story, that I had made ſome Propoſal to the Princeſs, to free her from the Trouble ſhe was in, and to ſave her from ſuch Indignities, as ſurely have ſeldom, if ever, been offered to the preſumptive Heir of a Crown. When you have read ſome Letters I had from her on the Occaſion, I believe you will be ſatisfied I did my Part. I aſſure you, that from the very Beginning of the Difference, it was my earneſt Requeſt to her to let me go from her; for though, had I been in her Place, I would not have complied with the Queen's Demand, yet I thought that in mine, I could not diſcharge what I owed to the Princeſs, without employing every Argument my Thoughts could ſuggeſt, to prevail with her to part with me. But whenever I ſaid any Thing that looked that Way, ſhe fell into the greateſt Paſſion of Tenderneſs and Weeping that is poſſible to imagine. And though my Situation, at that Time, was ſo diſagreeable to my Temper, that, could I have known how long it was to laſt, I could have choſen to go to the *Indies* ſooner, than to endure it; yet, had I been to ſuffer a thouſand Deaths, I think I ought to have ſubmitted, rather than have gone from her againſt her Will.

As ſoon as the Princeſs was recovered from a Fever, which followed the Indiſpoſition of her Lying-in, (and which, I believe, was, in great Meaſure, cauſed by her Trouble) ſhe began to think ſhe ſhould be found Fault with, if ſhe did not expreſs her Thankfulneſs for the great Honour the Queen had done her. Whereupon ſhe ſent to Dr.

Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to come to ſee her, intending to write to the Queen by him, and to make Uſe of his Credit to ſoften her. On this Occaſion, I had from her the two following Letters.

To Lady Marlborough.

I Had laſt Night a very civil Anſwer from the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, whom I ſent to ſpeak with, but have heard nothing more of him ſince, ſo I dare not venture to go to *London* To Day, for Fear of miſſing him. If he comes in any Time To-morrow, I will not fail of being with my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, about five or ſix o'Clock, unleſs you are to go to the *Tower*. And if you do, pray be ſo kind as to let me know Time enough to ſtop my Journey. For I would not go to *London*, and miſs the Satisfaction of ſeeing you. I could not forbear writing, though I had nothing more to ſay, but that it is impoſſible ever to expreſs the Kindneſs I have for dear Mrs. *Freeman*.

To Lady Marlborough.

SIR *Benjamin* telling me you were not come to Town at three o'Clock, makes me in Pain to know how your Son does, and I can't help enquiring after him and dear Mrs. *Freeman*. The Biſhop of *Worceſter* was with me this Morning before I was dreſs'd. I gave him my Letter to the Queen, and he has promiſed to ſecond it, and ſeemed to undertake it very willingly: Though by all the Diſcourſe I had with him, (of which I will give you a particular Account when I ſee you) I find him very partial to her. The laſt Time he was here, I told him you had ſeveral Times deſired you might go from me, and I have repeated the ſame Thing again to him. For you may eaſily imagine, I would not neglect doing you Right upon

upon all Occaſions. But I beg it again for *Chriſt Jeſus*'s Sake, that you would never name it any more to me. For be aſſured, if you ſhould ever do ſo cruel a Thing as to leave me, from that Moment I ſhall never enjoy one quiet Hour. And ſhould you do it without aſking my Conſent (which if ever I give you, may I never ſee the Face of Heaven) I will ſhut myſelf up, and never ſee the World more, but live where I may be forgotten by human Kind.

The Letter which the Princeſs ſent to the Queen by the Biſhop of *Worceſter* was in theſe Terms.

Sion, the 20th of May.

I Have now, God be thank'd, recover'd my Strength well enough to go abroad. And tho' my Duty and Inclination would both lead me to wait upon your Majeſty, as ſoon as I am able to do it, yet I have of late had the Misfortune of being ſo much under your Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, as to apprehend, there may be hard Conſtructions made upon any Thing I either do, or not do, with the moſt reſpectful Intentions. And I am in Doubt whether the ſame Arguments, that have prevailed with your Majeſty to forbid People from ſhewing their uſual Reſpects to me, may not be carried ſo much farther, as not to permit me to pay my Duty to you. That, I acknowledge, would be a great Encreaſe of Affliction to me, and nothing but your Majeſty's own Command ſhall ever willingly make me ſubmit to it. For, whatever Reaſon I may think in my own Mind I have to complain of being hardly uſed, yet I will ſtrive to hide it, as much as poſſible. And though I will not pretend to live at the Cockpit, unleſs you would be ſo kind as to make it eaſy to me, yet wherever I am, I will endeavour

endeavour always to give the conſtants Marks of Duty and Reſpect, which I have in my Heart for your Majeſty, as becomes

Your Majeſty's
very affectionate Siſter
and Servant,

ANNE.

To this the Queen return'd the following Anſwer.

To the Princeſs.

I Have received yours by the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and have very little to ſay to it; ſince you cannot but know, that as I never uſed Compliments, ſo now they will not ſerve.

'Tis none of my Fault, we live at this Diſtance, and I have endeavoured to ſhew my Willingneſs to do otherwiſe. And I will do no more. Don't give yourſelf any unneceſſary Trouble: For be aſſured it is not Words can make us live together as we ought. You know what I required of you. And now I tell you, if you doubted it before, that I cannot change my Mind, but expect to be complied with, or you muſt not wonder if I doubt of your Kindneſs. You can give me no other Marks, that will ſatisfy me. Nor can I put any other Conſtruction upon your Actions, than what all the World muſt do, that ſees them. Theſe Things don't hinder me being very glad to hear you are ſo well, and wiſhing you may continue ſo; and that you may yet, while 'tis in your Power, oblige me to be your affectionate Siſter,

MARIE R.

What

What Sentiments the Princeſs had on receiving this harſh peremptory Declaration from the Queen, you will ſee by her Letter to me on that Occaſion.

The Princeſs to Lady Marlborough.

I Am very ſenſibly touched with the Misfortune that my dear Mrs. *Freeman* has had of loſing her Son, knowing very well, what it is to loſe a Child: But ſhe knowing my Heart ſo well, and how great a Share I bear in all her Concerns, I will not ſay any more on this Subject, for fear of renewing her Paſſion too much.

Being now at Liberty to go where I pleaſe, by the Queen's refuſing to ſee me, I am mightily inclined to go To-morrow, after Dinner, to the *Cockpit*, and from thence privately in a Chair to ſee you, ſome Time next Week. I believe it will be Time for me to go to *London* to make an End of that Buſineſs of *Berkeley-Houſe*.

The Biſhop brought me the Queen's Letter early this Morning, and by that little he ſaid, he did not ſeem ſo well ſatisfied with her, as he was Yeſterday. He has promiſed to bear me Witneſs, that I have made all the Advances, that were reaſonable. And I confeſs, I think, the more it is told about, that I would have waited on the Queen, but that ſhe refuſed ſeeing me, it is the better: And therefore I will not ſcruple ſaying it to any Body, when it comes in my Way.

There were ſome in the Family, as ſoon as the News came this Morning of our Fleet's beating the *French*, that adviſed the Prince to go in the Afternoon to compliment the Queen. And another aſked me, if I would not ſend her one? But we neither of us thought there was any Neceſſity of it then, and much leſs ſince I received this arbitrary Letter. I don't ſend you the Original for Fear any

Accident

Accident may happen to the Bearer: For I love to keep ſuch Letters by me for my own Juſtification. Sure never any Body was uſed ſo by a Siſter! But I thank God I have nothing to reproach myſelf withal in this Buſineſs, but the more I think of all that has paſs'd, the better I am ſatisfied. And if I had done otherwiſe, I ſhould have deſerved to have been the Scorn of the World, and to be trampled upon as much as my Enemies would have me.

Dear Mrs. *Freeman* farewel, I hope in *Chriſt* you will never think more of leaving me, for I would be ſacrificed to do you the leaſt Service, and nothing but Death can ever make me part with you. For if it be poſſible I am every Day more and more yours.

I hope your Lord is well. It was Mr. *Maul* and Lady *Fitharding* that adviſed the Prince and me to make our Compliments to the Queen.

As your Lordſhip has here read the Princeſs's final Reſolution, you may now perhaps be curious to know, what were the Prince of *Denmark*'s Diſpoſitions, in Relation to this Affair. Some Parts of the following Letters will ſatisfy you in this Point, as the Reſt will confirm what has been ſaid of my deſiring to leave the Princeſs, the ill Treatment ſhe had met with, in this Reign, from the Beginning; and the Obligations ſhe thought herſelf under to Lord *Marlborough* and me for our Fidelity and diligent Services to her.

To Lady Marlborough.

I Really long to know how my dear Mrs. *Freeman* got Home; and now I have this Opportunity of Writing, ſhe muſt give me Leave to tell her, if ſhe ſhould ever be ſo cruel to leave her faithful Mrs.

* *Morley,*

Morley, ſhe will rob her of all the Joy and Quiet of her Life; for if that Day ſhould come, I could never enjoy a happy Minute, and I ſwear to you I would ſhut myſelf up and never ſee a Creature. You may eaſily ſee all this would have come upon me, if you had not been. If you do but remember what the Queen ſaid to me the Night before your Lord was turned out of all; then ſhe begun to pick Quarrels; and if they ſhould take off twenty or thirty thouſand Pound, have I not lived upon as little before? When I was firſt married we had but twenty (it is true indeed the King was ſo kind to pay my Debts) and if it ſhould come to that again, what Retrenchment is there, in my Family, I would not willingly make, and be glad of that Pretence to do it: never fancy, dear Mrs. *Freeman*, if what you fear ſhould happen, that you are the Occaſion; no, I am very well ſatisfied, *and ſo is the Prince too*, it would have been ſo however, for is capable of doing nothing but Injuſtice; therefore reſt ſatisfied, you are no ways the Cauſe; and let me beg once more, for God's Sake, that you would never mention parting more, no nor ſo much as think of it; and if you ſhould ever leave me, be aſſured it would break your faithful Mrs. *Morley*'s Heart.

Friday Morning.

I hope my dear Mrs. *Freeman* will come as ſoon as ſhe can, this Afternoon, that we may have as much Time together as we can; I doubt you will think me very unreaſonable for ſaying this, but I really long now to ſee you again, as much as if I had not been ſo happy this Month.

To Lady Marlborough.

IN Obedience to dear Mrs. *Freeman, I have told the Prince all ſhe deſired me, and he is ſo far from being of another Opinion, if there had been occaſion he would have ſtrengthened me in my Reſolutions, and we both beg you would never mention ſo cruel a Thing any more.* Can you think either of us ſo wretched that for the Sake of twenty thouſand Pound, and to be tormented from Morning to Night with flattering Knaves and Fools, we ſhould forſake thoſe, we have ſuch Obligations to, and that we are ſo certain we are the Occaſion of all their Misfortunes? Beſides, can you believe we will truckle to who from the firſt Moment of his coming has uſed us at that rate, as we are ſenſible he has done, and that all the World can Witneſs, that will not let their Intereſt weigh more with them, than their Reaſon. But ſuppoſe I did ſubmit, and that the King could change his Nature ſo much, as to uſe me with Humanity, how would all reaſonable People deſpiſe me? How would laugh at me and pleaſe himſelf with having got the better? And which is much more, how would my Conſcience reproach me for having ſacrificed it, my Honour, Reputation, and all the ſubſtantial Comforts of this Life for tranſitory Intereſt, which, even to thoſe who make it their Idol, can never afford any real Satisfaction, much leſs to a virtuous Mind: No, my dear Mrs. *Freeman,* never believe your faithful Mrs. *Morley* will ever ſubmit. She can wait with Patience for a ſun ſhine Day, and if ſhe does not live to ſee it, yet ſhe hopes *England* will flouriſh again. Once more give me leave to beg you would be ſo kind never to ſpeak of parting more, for let what will happen, that is the only Thing can make me miſerable.

Tueſday Morning.

 His

His Royal Highneſs continued ſteady in his Opinion to the laſt, notwithſtanding that almoſt all the Servants in the Family, and eſpecially thoſe whom I had brought into it, were frequently preſſing him to have me removed. My Lord *Berkeley* indeed, tho' I believe he did not know, that he was obliged to me for his Employment of Groom of the Stole, ſaid ſomething very handſom to the Prince, (as the Princeſs told me) to ſtrengthen him in the contrary Reſolution. But my Lord *Lexington*, who was not ſo ignorant of the Service I had done him, made the firſt Return for it, by ſpeaking to the *Prince to put her out, who had put him in.*

But of all that happened to me of this kind, nothing ſurpriſed ſo much, as the Behaviour of Mr. *Maul.* I had not only brought him to be Bedchamber Man to the Prince, when he was quite a Stranger to that Court, but to mend his Salary, had invented an Employment for him, that of overlooking the Princeſs's Accounts: And I had done this without having been aſked to do it. I had indeed a great Value for him, and thought him ſo worthy a Man, and ſo much my Friend, that I might ſafely have truſted to his Care my moſt important Concerns. But you will ſee how extremely I was miſtaken. This Man never came near me, during that Time of Trouble. And when I chanced to meet him at Sion, avoided as much as he could, even to make me a Bow; apprehending, I believe, that I ſhould aſk him to be Lord *Marlborough*'s Bail: Not that I then gueſs'd this to be his Reaſon; but I thought ſo afterwards; becauſe, notwithſtanding his ſtrange Coldneſs, even to Rudeneſs, as ſoon as it was known that Lord *Shrewſbury*, Lord *Burlington*, Lord *Carbury*, and Lord *Halifax* were to be Bail for my Lord *Marlborough* he came to ſee me, and offered himſelf for

that Service, making as if he knew nothing of what was ſo publick. I thanked him, and told him, Lord *Marlborough* had Friends, who would bail him, but that one of his beſt Friends was a Paper that lay upon the Table, which I had often kiſſed, *The Act of Habeas Corpus.*

But this was not the greateſt Proof I had of Mr. *Maul*'s Ingratitude. He was one of thoſe, who were moſt urgent with the Prince, that he would prevail with the Princeſs to put me away. For this End he took more Pains than ordinary in attending on him. And I cannot help telling a very fooliſh Thing he ſaid to his Royal Highneſs, and what one would not have expected from a Man that kept good Company. The Prince one Day, after being much preſſed by him, on my Subject, anſwered, *That he had ſo much Tenderneſs for the Princeſs, that he could not deſire to make her ſo uneaſy, as he knew the parting with me would do. And beſides, he had done a great deal, and had been very ill uſed.* To which Mr. *Maul* reply'd, *That it was true his Highneſs had done a great deal; but if he refuſed this Thing, it was like a Cow, that gave a great deal of Milk, and then kicked it down.*

Very ſoon after this eloquent, but unſucceſsful pleading of Mr. *Maul* (who had certainly been employed by my Lord *Rocheſter*) a Letter came to the Princeſs, from his Lordſhip, on occaſion of the Queen's having forbid People to go to her.

The Contents of it were theſe.

Madam,

I Am afraid, I may be guilty of too great Preſumption in giving your Royal Highneſs the Trouble of a Letter; but I do it with ſo good Intentions, that I hope you cannot be angry with me for it. And now that one is unhappily reſtrained from

from the Honour of waiting upon your Royal Highneſs, there is no other Way but this to make an Offer of my humble Duty to you. It is a very uncomfortable Reflection for me to make, that being ſo really concerned, as I am ſure I am, for your Royal Highneſs's Happineſs, I ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to be wholly uſeleſs to you, at a Time, when your Royal Highneſs cannot but think yourſelf, that you have uſe of every body, that are truly and faithfully your Servants. And however I have been ſo miſtaken in my Judgment, as to have never offered any thing to your Royal Highneſs worth your Approbation, I do, with all Humility, ſubmit my poor Opinion to that of your Royal Highneſs; but beg you to believe it is not Flattery to any body elſe, nor any other Conſideration that has made me be of the Mind I was; but only the Want of a better Underſtanding, to be able to think of ſomething more for your Service. And being thus incapable of myſelf to propoſe any Thing that is agreeable to you, I take this Occaſion humbly to offer to your Royal Highneſs all the little Service you may judge me fit to be employed in, and moſt earneſtly to beſeech you to believe, that if I can be of any Uſe in the World to your Royal Highneſs, there is nothing that I would endeavour with greater Satisfaction to myſelf, than at this Time to expreſs the great Concern, I preſume to ſay I have, for your Royal Highneſs, by any Thing that I can do for your Service. And if any Thing I have taken the Confidence to ſay be worth your taking notice of, the leaſt Signification of your Pleaſure will bring me at all Times to receive the Honour of any of your Commands; and the Duty and Zeal and Paſſion I have for your true Intereſt and Proſperity, will, I hope, make ſome Amends for the Want of a

better

better Judgment and Capacity, which I acknowledge every Body has a greater Share of than,

MADAM,

Your Royal Highneſs's moſt obedient and moſt dutiful Servant,

ROCHESTER.

I cannot help thinking, that there is ſomething very abſurd in the affected Modeſty and profound Reſpectfulneſs of this Letter; where his Lordſhip owns, that every Body has more Judgment and Capacity than he, and, with all Humility, ſubmits his poor Opinion to that of her Royal Highneſs, and, at the ſame Time, lets her know that this poor Opinion, which he ſo ſubmits, ſhall entirely govern him in his Behaviour towards her. And the perfect Self-Approbation he diſcovers, after lamenting the Miſtake of his Judgment, is no leſs ridiculous. For he plainly intimates ſome Expectation, that ſhe will ſend for him again, and confeſs the Wiſdom of the ſenſeleſs Advice he had given her. I make no Scruple to call his Lordſhip's Advice ſenſeleſs. For how unworthy ſoever he might think me of the extraordinary Affection the Princeſs had for me, he could not hope (unleſs he were really the Simpleton he ſays he is) that what had lately happened would be a Means to cure her of it in any Degree: And he muſt know, that while ſhe retained that Affection, ſhe could not part with me, without extreme Unhappineſs to herſelf. And what had he to propoſe, as a Compenſation to her for this Unhappineſs? Not the inward Satisfaction, nor the outward Glory of having obeyed any Law of God or of the Land, by removing me from her; but only the empty Advantage of putting an End to their Majeſties open Diſpleaſure

pleaſure with her; a Diſpleaſure, which did her no real Hurt, and which, being ſo occaſioned as it was, gained her Credit with every Mortal that had a Heart.

The Princeſs was not impoſed upon by his Lordſhip's Duty or Zeal or Paſſion for her Proſperity. She ſent him the following Anſwer to his Letter.

To the Earl of Rocheſter.

I Give you many Thanks for the Compliments and Expreſſions of Service which you make me, in your Letter; which I ſhould be much better pleas'd with, than I am, if I had any Reaſon to think them ſincere.

It is a great Mortification to me, to find, that I ſtill continue under the Misfortune of the Queen's Diſpleaſure. I had Hopes, in Time, the Occaſion of it would have appeared as little reaſonable to the Queen, as it has always done to me. And if you would have perſuaded me of the Sincerity of your Intentions, as you ſeem to deſire, you muſt give me Leave to ſay, I cannot think it very hard for you to convince me of it, by the Effects. And 'till then I muſt beg Leave to be excuſed, if I am apt to think, this great Mortification, which has been given me, cannot have proceeded from the Queen's own Temper, who, I am perſuaded, is both more juſt in herſelf, than that comes to, as well as more kind to

Your very affectionate Friend,

ANNE.

And now the Buſineſs of his Lordſhip was to make the Queen's Order to be complied with. He took great Pains in it himſelf; and all the Ladies of the Bed-Chamber were employed either to ſpeak or write to their Relations and Acquaintance. And this

this Matter was ſo well followed, that, at laſt, the Queen herſelf ſent to my Lady *Grace Pierpoint, to deſire that ſhe would not go to the Princeſs; adding, that if ſhe did, ſhe ſhould not come to her, for ſhe would ſee no Body that went to her Siſter.* My Lady *Grace*'s Anſwer was, *That ſhe thought ſhe owed a Reſpect to the Princeſs; that ſhe had been civilly treated by her; and that if her Majeſty would not allow her to pay her Duty to her, ſhe would go no more to the Queen, and the oftner to the Princeſs.*

But this generous Example of refuſing meanly to ſubmit to an unreaſonable Order, was followed by very few, except thoſe whom my Lord *Marlborough* and I engaged to pay the Princeſs all the Reſpect poſſible. Two or three Jacobite Ladies alſo came to her, becauſe (as it was eaſy to obſerve) all of that Intereſt rejoiced much at the Quarrel.

My Lady *Thanet* was one of the firſt, who, like my Lord *Rocheſter* (and I conclude, not without his Advice) made her Excuſe to the Princeſs by Letter. I cannot now find it; but you may gueſs at the Contents of it by the Princeſs's Anſwer, which was this.

To the Counteſs Dowager of Thanet.

IT is no ſmall Addition to my Unhappineſs in the Queen's Diſpleaſure, that I am deprived, by it, of the Satisfaction of ſeeing my Friends; eſpecially of ſuch as ſeem deſirous to ſee me, and to find by thoſe late Commands, which her Majeſty has given you, that her Unkindneſs to me is to have no End. The only Comfort I have in theſe great Hardſhips, is, to think, how little I have deſerved them from the Queen. And that Thought, I hope, will help me to ſupport them with leſs Impatience.

I am the leſs ſurpriſed at the Strictneſs of the Queen's

Queen's Command to you, upon this Occaſion, ſince I have found ſhe can be ſo very unkind to, &c.

It was almoſt a Year after this, and when it was of very little Uſe, before Lady *Thanet* firſt, and then Lady *Hyde*, came to wait on the Princeſs. And their Viſits afterwards were very rare, and only upon extraordinary Occaſions, as a Lying-in, or ſome great Illneſs.

I have already mentioned, beſide this Prohibition to viſit the Princeſs, the taking away of her Guards. And theſe were not the only Methods deviſed to mortify her. One very ridiculous Thing was done with this View, while the Princeſs was at Bath. The following Letter, ſigned by the Earl of *Nottingham*, Secretary of State, was diſpatched to the Mayor of the Town, a Tallow-Chandler.

SIR,

THE Queen has been informed, that yourſelf and your Brethren have attended the Princeſs with the ſame Reſpect and Ceremony, as have been uſually paid to the Royal Family. Perhaps you may not have heard what Occaſion her Majeſty has had to be diſpleaſed with the Princeſs. And therefore I am commanded to acquaint you, that you are not for the future to pay her Highneſs any ſuch Reſpect or Ceremony, without Leave from her Majeſty, who does not doubt of receiving from you, and your Brethren, this publick Mark of your Duty. I am

Your moſt humble Servant,

NOTTINGHAM.

The King being abroad when this Letter was writ, and the Queen being at that Time wholly in

my Lord *Rocheſter*'s Hands, every Body concluded, that it was done by his Advice. And I am myſelf the more fully perſuaded of it, from the Fondneſs he diſcovered for ſuch Sort of Pageantry, when (in the Beginning of Queen *Anne*'s Reign) he made his Progreſs in thoſe Parts, and took Pains in begging Treats, and Speeches, from ſuch Sort of People. But it muſt be owned, that his Lordſhip had a ſingular Taſte for trifling Ceremonies. I remember, when he was Treaſurer, he made his white Staff be carried by his Chair-Side, by a Servant bare-headed; in this, among other Things, ſo very unlike his Succeſſor, my Lord *Godolphin*, who cut his white Staff ſhorter than ordinary, that he might hide it, by taking it into the Chair with him.

But if my Lord *Rocheſter* believed, as I am perſuaded he did, that this Order to the Mayor of *Bath*, would have great Weight with the Princeſs, you will ſee by a ſhort Letter from her to me, on the Occaſion, how much he was diſappointed.

To Lady Marlborough.

DEAR Mrs. *Freeman* muſt give me Leave to aſk her, if any Thing has happened to make her uneaſy. I thought ſhe looked to Night, as if ſhe had the Spleen. And I can't help being in Pain whenever I ſee her ſo.

I fancied Yeſterday, when the Mayor failed in the Ceremony of going to Church with me, that he was commanded not to do it. I think 'tis a Thing to be laugh'd at. And, if they imagine either to vex me or gain upon me by ſuch Sort of Uſage, they will be mightily diſappointed. And I hope theſe fooliſh Things they do, will every Day ſhew People more and more, what they are, and that they truly deſerve the Name your faithful *Morley* has given them.

Another fooliſh Thing, that was done by the ſame Advice, as I ſuppoſe, was ſending to the Miniſter of St. *James*'s Church, where the Princeſs uſed to go (while ſhe lived at *Berkeley Houſe*) to forbid them to lay the Text upon her Cuſhion, or take any more Notice of her than of other People. But the Miniſter refuſing to obey without ſome Order from the Crown in Writing, which they did not care to give, that noble Deſign dropp'd.

After all theſe notable Efforts to ſubdue the Princeſs had been employed without Succeſs, and when we were got again, as I thought, into a ſettled, quiet Way, at *Berkeley-Houſe*, my Lord *Rocheſter* attempted once more to bring about his Purpoſe, by a Stratagem. He came to Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt*, and to others of the Princeſs's Family, inſinuating to them, *that if the Princeſs would put me away, he was perſuaded, the Queen would in ſome Time be prevailed upon to let her take me again*; which was altogether improbable, and indeed ridiculous; becauſe my only pretended Fault was being my Lord *Marlborough*'s Wife, a Fault which I could neither excuſe, nor extenuate, nor repent of.

The Princeſs conſidered this Project as nothing more than a new civil Plot of my Lord *Rocheſter*'s. However ſhe was reſolved to leave nothing undone on her Part; and therefore, knowing that my Lady *Fitzharding* could ſpeak more freely to the Queen than any Body elſe, whom ſhe could employ, ſhe ſent for her and repeated to her my Lord *Rocheſter*'s Propoſal, deſiring her to acquaint the Queen, *that from what his Lordſhip had ſaid, ſhe had been flattering herſelf, ſhe had miſtaken her Majeſty's laſt Words; and that if ſhe might hope his Lordſhip had any Ground for his Opinion, ſhe ſhould be very ready to give her Majeſty any Satisfaction of that Sort.* Upon the Delivery of this Meſſage, the Queen fell into a great

Paſſion, and ſaid, *Her Siſter had not miſtaken her, for ſhe never would ſee her upon any other Terms, than parting with me, not for a Time, but for ever*, adding, *that ſhe was a Queen, and would be obeyed.* Which fine Sentence, my Lady *Fitzharding* confeſſed, the Queen repeated ſeveral Times in their Converſation; and her Ladyſhip ſeemed to find great Fault with the Queen's Manner of ſpeaking upon that Occaſion; though excepting this Time, my Lady appeared to be a very good Courtier.

The Princeſs, after this, continued at *Berkeley-Houſe* in a very quiet Way. For there was nothing more to be done, unleſs they would ſtop her Revenue, which doubtleſs they would have attempted, had they thought it practicable. But my Lord *Godolphin* was then firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, a Man eſteemed very uſeful to the Service, and who, they knew, would quit upon any ſuch Orders. And they could not eaſily have found a Perſon with Qualities fit for that Employment, who would have thought it conſiſtent with his Honour or Safety to take a Place, which another had left upon ſuch an Account; and at the ſame Time refuſe paying the Revenue ſettled by an Act of Parliament on the next Heir to the Crown.

I remember nothing more that happened of any Moment relating to this Diſagreement, till juſt before the Queen's Death.

I ſhall only obſerve, that notwithſtanding all the harſh Things done to the Prince and Princeſs, they never failed in the leaſt Thing, which their Friends thought proper for them to do, to ſhew Reſpect to the King and Queen.

Particularly, on the King's Return from *Flanders*, the Prince ſent one of his Family to preſent *his humble Duty to his Majeſty*, and to acquaint him, *That the Princeſs having had the Misfortune, during his*

his Abſence, to receive many publick Marks of the Queen's Diſpleaſure, he did not know whether it were proper for him to come to his Majeſty, as formerly, without endeavouring firſt to receive his Majeſty's Commands, and to know how far it might be agreeable to him.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* alſo waited ſeveral Times on her Majeſty, who made a great Shew of Kindneſs to *him*, and gave him Rattles, and ſeveral Play-Things, which were conſtantly put down in the Gazette. And whenever the Duke was ſick, ſhe ſent a Bed-Chamber Woman to *Camden-Houſe* to enquire how he did. But this Compliment was made in ſo offenſive a Manner to the Princeſs, that I have often wondred how any Mortal could bear it with the Patience ſhe did. For whoever was ſent, uſed to come without any Ceremony into the Room, where the Princeſs herſelf was, and, paſſing by her as ſhe ſtood or ſat, without taking more Notice of her, than if ſhe were a Rocker, go directly up to the Duke, and make their Speech to him, or to the Nurſe, as he lay in her Lap.

I believe it will be allowed, that there was a good deal of Inſolence and Ill-breeding, in this Behaviour; and that the Queen might, with Safety to all her Dignity, have found Means to ſatisfy herſelf about the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Health, without ſuffering to be done to the Princeſs, what no Body before ever thought of, and what no private Perſon in this Country would bear from another. And yet the Return, which the Princeſs, when ſhe came to the Crown, made to this Rudeneſs of the Queen's Women, was to give them Penſions; a Thing which the King himſelf grew weary of doing ſome Time before he died.

For ſeveral Months before Queen *Mary* fell ſick of the Small-Pox, the Princeſs, thinking herſelf with Child, ſtayed conſtantly on one Floor, by her Phyſicians

Phyſicians Advice, lying very much upon a Couch to prevent the Misfortune of miſcarrying. However upon the News of the Queen's dangerous Indiſpoſition, ſhe ſent a Lady of her Bed-Chamber to preſent her humble Duty her, and to deſire *that her Majeſty would believe ſhe was extremely concerned for her Illneſs:* adding, *that if her Majeſty would allow her the Happineſs of waiting on her, ſhe would, notwithſtanding the Condition ſhe was in, run any Hazard for that Satisfaction.*

This Meſſage was delivered to Lady *Derby*, who, having carried it in to her Majeſty, came out again ſome Time after, and ſaid, *That the King would ſend an Anſwer the next Day.* Accordingly my Lady *Derby*, then wrote to the ſame Lady, who had brought the Meſſage, the following Lines.

MADAM,

I Am commanded by the King and Queen to tell you, they deſire you would let the Princeſs know they both thank her for ſending and deſiring to come: But it being thought ſo neceſſary to keep the Queen as quiet as poſſible, hope ſhe will defer it. I am,

Madam,
Your Ladyſhip's
moſt humble Servant,
E. DERBY.

Pray Madam, preſent my humble Duty to the Princeſs.

This civil Anſwer, and my Lady *Derby*'s Poſtſcript, made me conclude, more than if the College of Phyſicians had told it me, that the Diſeaſe was mortal. And as I knew that ſeveral People, and even one of the Princeſs's own Family, were allowed

ed to ſee the Queen, I was alſo fully perſuaded, that the deferring the Princeſs's coming was only to leave room for continuing the Quarrel, in caſe the Queen ſhould chance to recover, or for Reconciliation with the King, (if that ſhould be thought convenient) in caſe of the Queen's Death.

During all the Time of the Queen's Illneſs to her Deceaſe, the Princeſs ſent every Day to enquire how ſhe did; and once, I am ſure, her Majeſty heard of it, becauſe my Lady *Fitzbarding*, who was charged with the Meſſage, and who had more Deſire than ordinary to ſee the Queen, broke in whether they would or not, and delivered it to her, endeavouring to expreſs in how much Concern the Princeſs was: To which the Queen return'd no Anſwer but a cold Thanks. Nor, though ſhe received the Sacrament in her Illneſs, did ſhe ever ſend the leaſt Meſſage to the Princeſs, except that in my Lady *Derby*'s Letter, which perhaps her Majeſty knew nothing of.

How this Conduct to a Siſter could ſuit with the Character of a devout Queen, I am at a Loſs to know. For there is nothing more plain in Scripture, than the fifth Chapter of St. *Matthew*, ver. 23, and 24. *Therefore if thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remembreſt that thy Brother hath ought againſt thee, leave there thy Gift before the Altar, and go thy Way; firſt be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift.*

I will ſuppoſe, for Argument Sake, (tho' I think it ſcarce poſſible) that the Queen might have ſo wrong an Underſtanding, as to think ſhe had no Reparation to make, and that the Princeſs had injured her, in not being her Slave: Yet, even in that Caſe, there was ſomething omitted; for we are taught *to forgive the Treſpaſſes againſt us, as we expect to be forgiven.*

Upon

Upon the Death of the Queen, the Princeſs, by Advice of my Lord *Sunderland* and others, wrote the following Letter to the King.

SIR,

I Beg your Majeſty's favourable Acceptance of my ſincere and hearty Sorrow for your great Affliction in the Loſs of the Queen. And I do aſſure your Majeſty, I am as ſenſibly touched with this ſad Misfortune, as if I had never been ſo unhappy, as to have fallen into her Diſpleaſure.

It is my earneſt Deſire, your Majeſty would give me Leave to wait upon you, as ſoon as it can be without Inconveniency to you, and without Danger of encreaſing your Affliction, that I may have an Opportunity myſelf, not only of repeating this, but of aſſuring your Majeſty of my real Intentions to omit no Occaſion of giving you conſtant Proofs of my ſincere Reſpect and Concern for your Perſon and Intereſt, as becomes,

SIR,
Your Majeſty's
moſt affectionate Siſter
and Servant,
ANNE.

The King had Senſe enough to know, that it would be impoſſible to continue any longer an open Difference with the Princeſs, without expoſing himſelf to daily Slights, and a manifeſt Diſregard for his ſovereign Pleaſure; for he could not hope that the Nobility of *England* would be hindred now the Queen was dead, from paying Reſpect to a Princeſs, who was next Heir to him by Act of Parliament, and who, if Title by Blood had taken Place, would have had the Crown before him; and he was well aware,

aware, that every Body, who had a Mind to ſhew they did not care for him, would certainly do it by making their court to her.

Quickly after this Letter therefore, the Princeſs, with the King's Conſent, and at a Time which he appointed, waited on him at *Kenſington*, and was received with extraordinary Civility.

And now, it being publickly known, that the Quarrel was made up, nothing was to be ſeen but Crouds of People, of all Sorts, flocking to *Berkeley-Houſe*, to pay their Reſpects to the Prince and Princeſs: A ſudden Alteration, which, I remember, occaſioned the half-witted Lord *Caernarvon* to ſay one Night to the Princeſs, as he ſtood cloſe by her in the Circle, *I hope your Highneſs will remember that I came to wait upon you, when none of this Company did*; which cauſed a great deal of Mirth.

I never heard of any Body that oppoſed this Reconciliation, except my Lord *Portland*. But the Perſon who wholly managed the Affair between the King and Princeſs, was my Lord *Sunderland*. He had upon all Occaſions relating to her, ſhewed himſelf a Man of Senſe and Breeding; and before there was any Thought of the Queen's dying, had deſigned to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to make up the Breach; in which however I am perſuaded, he could not have ſucceeded during the Queen's Life. Her Death made it eaſy to him (for the Reaſons I have mentioned) to bring the King to a Reconcilement; and he alſo perſuaded his Majeſty to give the Princeſs St. *James's-Houſe*.

But this and ſome other Favours granted her, at his Lordſhip's Requeſt, were only to ſave Appearances, and for political Views. It was very evident that the King did not care, any real Reſpect ſhould be ſhewn to her Highneſs. For though to his Death ſhe never omitted any Thing that was due

to him from her, and, by his Order, went ſeveral Times to wait on him at *Kenſington*, no Ceremony was obſerved to her, more than to any other Lady; till the Thing had cauſed ſome Diſcourſe in Town. After which my Lord *Jerſey* waited upon her down Stairs once or twice, but not oftner. If any Body ever came to meet her, it was a Page of the Back-Stairs, or ſome Perſon whoſe Face was not known. And the Princeſs, upon theſe Occaſions, has waited an Hour and half, juſt upon the ſame Foot with the reſt of the Company; and not the leaſt Excuſe was made for it.

I confeſs, for my own Part, that in the Point of *Reſpect to the King (and to the Queen when living)* I thought the Princeſs did a great deal too much; and it often made me very uneaſy. For I could not endure to have her do any Thing, that I would not have done in her Place. And all the Friends I ever had in my Life would not have prevailed with me to make any one Step the Princeſs did, during the Quarrel, except the firſt Letter ſhe wrote to the Queen, and the laſt Meſſage of offering to come to her in her Sickneſs. But a Letter which the Princeſs, after the Reconcilement wrote to the King upon taking of *Namur*, gave me, I think, more Concern than any other Inſtance of her *Reſpectfulneſs*; though it was adviſed by three Lords, whoſe Judgments all the World valued. It ran thus,

SIR,

THO' I have been unwilling to give you the Trouble of a Letter upon any other Occaſion, yet upon one ſo glorious to your Majeſty as the taking of *Namur*, I hope you will give me Leave to congratulate your good Succeſs, which don't pleaſe upon any other Account, as for the Satisfaction, that I am ſenſible your Majeſty muſt needs

needs feel in this great Addition to the Reputation of your Arms. And I beg Leave Sir, to aſſure you, that as no Body is more nearly concerned in your Intereſts, ſo no Body wiſhes more heartily for your Happineſs and Proſperity at Home, than

Your &c.
ANNE.

This Letter (which ſeemed to me ſo unbecoming the Princeſs to write) ſerved no other Purpoſe but to give the King an Opportunity of ſhewing his brutal Diſregard for the Writer; for he never returned any Anſwer to it, nor ſo much as a civil Meſſage.

Your Lordſhip has had ſome Specimens of the Manner, in which his Majeſty treated the Prince of *Denmark* before the Quarrel. I ſhall now give you one, of his Behaviour to him after the Reconcilement.

The King's Birth-Day coming juſt after the News of the King of *Denmark*'s Death, the Prince, who had a great Tenderneſs for his Brother, was extremely uneaſy at the Thought of putting on Colours ſo ſoon. And the Princeſs, knowing that it had been the Cuſtom in former Reigns, to wait upon the King, on a Birth-Day, without coloured Clothes, when the Mourning was very deep, found Means to get my Lord *Albemarle* to aſk the King's Leave, that the Prince might be admitted, in his Mourning, to wiſh his Majeſty Joy. The Anſwer was, *That the King would not ſee him, unleſs he came in Colours*; and the Prince was perſuaded to comply, tho' he did it with great Uneaſineſs.

I believe I could fill as many Sheets, as I have already written, with relating the Brutalities, that were done to the Prince and Princeſs in that Reign. The King was indeed ſo ill natured and ſo little

poliſhed by Education, that neither in great Things nor in ſmall had he the Manners of a Gentleman. I ſhall give you an Inſtance of his worſe than vulgar Behaviour at his own Table, when the Princeſs din'd with him.

It was in the Beginning of his Reign, and when ſhe was with Child of the Duke of *Glouceſter*. There happened to be a Plate of Peaſe, the firſt that had been ſeen that Year. The King without offering the Princeſs the leaſt Share of them, eat them every one up himſelf. Whether he offer'd any to the Queen, I cannot ſay; but he might do that ſafely enough, for he knew, ſhe durſt not touch them. The Princeſs confeſſed, when ſhe came Home, ſhe had ſo much Mind to the Peaſe, that ſhe was afraid to look at them, and yet could hardly keep her Eyes off them.

But I ſhall conclude this Subject of the King's Conduct towards the Princeſs, with ſome Facts of a deeper Concern to her than thoſe Incivilities I have juſt mention'd, and they will ſhew how rightly ſhe judged, when ſhe formerly refuſed to leave the Affair of her Maintenance to his Generoſity.

When the Duke of *Glouceſter* was arrived at the Age, to be put into Men's Hands, the King inſinuated to ſuch Members of the Parliament, as he knew were deſirous to have the Duke handſomly ſettled, that it would require near 50000 *l.* a Year. And, at the ſame Time, he promiſed other Perſons, whom he knew it would pleaſe, that he would pay Queen *Mary* in *France* her Settlement, which was alſo 50000 *l.* a Year. And theſe Steps he took, in order to obtain an Addition of a 100000 *l.* a Year to his Civil Liſt.

The Addition was granted, yet he never paid one Shilling to the Queen: And, as to the Duke, the King not only kept him in Women's Hands a good

good while after the new Revenue was granted, but, when his Highneſs's Family was ſettled, would give him no more than 15000 *l.* a Year. Nay, of this ſmall Allowance, he refuſed to advance one Quarter, though it was abſolutely wanted to buy Plate and Furniture: So that the Princeſs was forced to be at that Expence herſelf.

But this was not all. The King (influenced, I ſuppoſe, in this Particular, by my Lord *Sunderland*) ſent the Princeſs Word, that, though he intended to put in all the Preceptors, he would leave it to her to chuſe the reſt of the Servants except one, who was to be Deputy Governor and Gentleman of the Duke's Bed-Chamber, (which was Mr. *Sayers*.)

This Meſſage was ſo humane, and of ſo different an Air from any Thing the Princeſs had been uſed to, that it gave her an extreme Pleaſure; and ſhe immediately ſet herſelf to provide proper Perſons, and of the moſt Conſideration, for the ſeveral Places. Mr. *Boſcawen* and Secretary *Vernon*'s Son were to be Grooms of the Bed-Chamber; the Sons of the Earls of *Bridgwater* and *Berkeley* were to be Pages of Honour, and ſo on. In the mean Time the King was in no Haſte to finiſh the Affair of the Duke's Eſtabliſhment; and a little before he left *England* to go make the Campaign, told my Lord *Marlborough*, (who was now reſtored to the Army, and was to be Governor to the Duke of *Glouceſter*) *that he would ſend a Liſt from Abroad, of the Servants he would have in the Duke's Family*, not in the leaſt regarding the former Meſſage he had ſent to the Princeſs; which my Lord obſerving, took the Liberty to put his Majeſty in Mind of it; adding, that the Princeſs, upon the Credit of that Meſſage, had engaged her Promiſes to ſeveral Perſons; and that, not to be able to perform thoſe Promiſes, would be ſo great a Mortification, as he hoped his Majeſty would

would not give her, at a Time, when any Thing of Trouble might do her Prejudice, ſhe being then with Child. Hereupon the King fell into a great Paſſion, and ſaid, *ſhe ſhould not be Queen before her Time, and he* would *make the Liſt of what Servants the Duke ſhould have.*

The King was ſo peremptory, that my Lord *Marlborough* could ſay no more, and had no Expedient left, but to get my Lord *Albemarle* to try to bring him to Reaſon; which his Lordſhip promiſed to do. And accordingly he took my Lord *Marlborough*'s Liſt of the Perſons the Princeſs had choſen, and carried it with him into *Holland*. In Concluſion that Liſt was approved, with very few Alterations. But this was, without Queſtion, not ſo much owing to the King's Goodneſs, or my Lord *Albemarle*'s Perſuaſions, (though I believe his Lordſhip did take Pains in this Matter) as to the happy Choice the Princeſs had made of the Servants. For the King, upon cool Conſideration, muſt perceive, that he could not ſtrike out of the Liſt a greater Number than he did, without hurting himſelf, more than the Princeſs. He only made my Lord *Raby*'s Brother an Equerry, and appointed to be Gentlemen-Waiters, two or three Perſons, who had ſerved the late Queen in ſuch like Stations, and had Penſions on that Account. And it was to ſave this Money that the King did ſo Ungentleman-like a Thing, as to force the Princeſs to fail in ſome of her Engagements. And he gave afterwards another remarkable Proof of his good Management; for upon the News of the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Death, he ſent Orders by the very firſt Poſt, to have all his Servants diſcarded; a Diligence of Frugality, which was ſurely not very decent in a King. It was by the Contrivance of Lord *Marlborough*, aſſiſted by Lord *Albemarle*, that the Servants

received

received their Salaries to the Quarter-Day after the Duke died.

And now, after all I have related of the King, and after ſo much Diſlike, as I have expreſſed of his Character and Conduct, you will perhaps hardly believe me, in what I am going to ſay: Yes, your Lordſhip will believe me; for you will judge of my Heart, by the Make and Temper of your own. When the King came to die, I felt nothing of that Satisfaction, which I once thought I ſhould have had upon this Occaſion. And my Lord and Lady *Jerſey*'s writing and ſending perpetually to give an Account, as his Breath grew ſhorter and ſhorter, filled me with Horror. I thought I would loſe the beſt Imployment in any Court, ſooner than act ſo odious a Part. And the King, who had given me ſo much Cauſe to hate him, in that Condition I ſincerely pitied: ſo little is it in my Nature to retain Reſentment againſt any Mortal, (how unjuſt ſoever he may have been) in whom *the Will to injure* is no more.

SECT. II.

THE King died, and the Princeſs of *Denmark* took his Place. This Elevation of my Miſtreſs to the Throne brought me into a new Scene of Life, and into a new Sort of Conſideration with all thoſe, whoſe Attention, either by Curioſity or Ambition, was turned to Politicks and the Court. Hitherto my Favour with her Royal Highneſs, though it had ſometimes furniſhed Matter of Converſation to the Publick, had been of no Moment to the Affairs of the Nation, ſhe herſelf having no Share in the Councils, by which they were managed. But from this Time, I began to be look'd upon as a Perſon

Perſon of Conſequence, without whoſe Approbation, at leaſt, neither Places, nor Penſions, nor Honours were beſtowed by the Crown. The intimate Friendſhip, with which the Queen was known to honour me, afforded a plauſible Foundation for this Opinion: And I believe therefore, it will be a Surprize to many, to be told, that the firſt important Step, which her Majeſty took, after her Acceſſion to the Government, was againſt my Wiſhes and Inclination: I mean, *her throwing herſelf and her Affairs almoſt entirely into the Hands of the Tories.*

I ſhall dwell the longer, and be the more particular upon the Subject of my Diſagreement with her Majeſty about Parties, that I may expoſe the Injuſtice of thoſe Whigs, who, after the great Change in 1710, accuſed me of being the Ruin of their Cauſe; a Cauſe, that, in her Reign, would have been always too low, to be capable of a Fall, but for the Zeal and Diligence, with which I ſeiz'd every Opportunity to raiſe and eſtabliſh it; which, in the End, proved the Ruin of my Favour with her Majeſty.

The Queen had from her Infancy imbibed the moſt unconquerable Prejudices againſt the Whigs. She had been taught to look upon them all, not only as Republicans, who hated the very Shadow of regal Authority, but as implacable Enemies to the Church of *England*. This Averſion to the whole Party had been confirmed by the ill Uſage ſhe had met with from her Siſter and King *William*, which though perhaps more owing to Lord *Rocheſter*, than to any Man then living, was now to be all charged to the Account of the Whigs. And Prince *George*, her Huſband, who had alſo been ill treated in that Reign, threw into the Scale his Reſentments.

On

On the other Hand, the Tories had the Advantage, not only of the Queen's early Pre-poſſeſſion in their Favour, but of their having aſſiſted her in the late Reign, in the Affair of her *Settlement*. It was indeed evident, that they had done this, more in Oppoſition to King *William*, than for any real Reſpect for the Princeſs of *Denmark*. But ſtill they had ſerved her. And the Winter before ſhe came to the Crown, they had in the ſame Spirit of Oppoſition to the King, and in Proſpect of his Death, paid her more than uſual Civilities and Attendance.

It is no great Wonder therefore, all theſe Things conſider'd, that as ſoon as ſhe was ſeated in the Throne, the Tories (whom ſhe uſually called by the agreeable Name of the Church-party) became the diſtinguiſh'd Objects of the Royal Favour.

Dr. *Sharp*, Archbiſhop of *York*, was pitch'd upon by herſelf to preach her Coronation Sermon, and to be her chief Counſellor in Church-Matters; and her Privy-Council was filled with Tories. My Lord *Normanby* (ſoon after Duke of *Buckingham*) the Earls of *Jerſey* and *Nottingham*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, with many others of the Highfliers, were brought into Place; Sir *Nathan Wright* was continued in Poſſeſſion of the Great Seal of *England*, and the Earl of *Rocheſter* in the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*. Theſe were Men, who had all a wonderful Zeal for the Church; a ſort of publick Merit that eclipſed all other in the Eyes of the Queen. And I am firmly perſuaded, that notwithſtanding her extraordinary Affection for me, and the entire Devotion which my Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord *Godolphin* had for many Years ſhewn to her Service, they would not have had ſo great a Share of her Favour and Confidence, if they had not been reckon'd in the Number of the Tories.

The Truth is, tho' both theſe Lords had always the real Intereſt of the Nation at Heart, and had given Proof of this, by their Conduct in their ſeveral Employments, in the late Reign, they had been educated in the Perſuaſion, that the High-Church Party were the beſt Friends to the Conſtitution, both of Church and State; nor were they perfectly undeceived but by Experience.

For my own part, I had not the ſame Prepoſſeſſions. The Word *Church* had never any Charm for *me*, in the Mouths of thoſe, who made the moſt Noiſe with it; for I could not perceive that they gave any other diſtinguiſhing Proof of their Regard for the *Thing*, than a frequent uſe of the *Word*, like a Spell to enchant weak Minds; and a perſecuting Zeal againſt Diſſenters, and againſt thoſe real Friends of the Church, who would not admit that *Perſecution* was agreeable to its Doctrine. And as to State Affairs, many of theſe Churchmen ſeem'd to me, to have no fixed Principles at all, having endeavoured, during the laſt Reign, to undermine that very Government, which they had contributed to eſtabliſh.

I was heartily ſorry therefore, that, for the Sake of ſuch Churchmen, others ſhould be removed from their Employments, who had been firm to the Principles of the Revolution, and whom I thought much more likely to ſupport the Queen, and promote the Welfare of our Country, than the wrong-headed Politicians that ſucceeded them.

I reſolved therefore, from the very Beginning of the Queen's Reign, to try whether I could not by Degrees make Impreſſions in her Mind more favourable to the Whigs; and tho' my Inſtances with her had not at firſt any conſiderable Effect, I believe, I may venture to ſay, it was, in ſome meaſure owing to them, that her Majeſty did, againſt her

her own Inclinations, continue ſeveral of this Party in Office. And it is well known, that when the Queen, in the firſt Year of her Reign, had determined to create four new Peers, the Lords *Granville*, *Guernſey*, *Gower* and *Conway*, I prevailed that Mr. *Hervey* (the preſent Earl of *Briſtol*) might be a *fifth*, in ſpite of the Oppoſition of the Tories, and eſpecially of the *four* above-named; who for a while refuſed to accept of the Peerage, if Mr. *Hervey*, a Whig, were admitted to the ſame Honour.

But how difficult a Taſk I preſcribed to myſelf, when I undertook to moderate her Majeſty's Partiality to the Tories, and to engage her to a better Opinion of their Oppoſites, will abundantly appear from the following Letter, which I had the Honour to receive from her, about half a Year after her Acceſſion to the Throne.

St. James's, Saturday 24 *Oct.*

I AM very glad to find by my dear Mrs. *Freeman*'s, that I was bleſt with Yeſterday, that ſhe liked *my Speech*, but I cannot help being extremely concerned, you are ſo partial to the Whigs, becauſe I would not have you, and your * poor, unfortunate, faithful *Morley* differ in Opinion in the leaſt thing. What I ſaid, when I writ laſt upon this Subject, does not proceed from any Inſinuations of the other Party; but I know the Principles of the Church of *England*, and I know thoſe of the Whigs, and it is that, and no other Reaſon, which makes me think as I do, of the laſt. And upon my Word, my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, you are mightily miſtaken in your Notion of a true Whig: For the Character

* *The Queen began to ſtile herſelf after this Manner, upon the Death of the Duke of* Glouceſter.

you give of them, does not in the leaſt belong to them, but to the Church. But I will ſay no more on this Subject, only beg, for my poor Sake, that you would not ſhew more Countenance to thoſe, you ſeem to have ſo much Inclination for, than to the Church Party. Since you have ſtaid ſo long at *Windſor*, I wiſh now for your own Sake, that you would ſtay till after *my Lord-Mayor's Day*; for if you are in Town, *you can't avoid going to the Show*, and being in the Country is a juſt Excuſe; and, I think, one would be glad of any to avoid ſo troubleſome a Buſineſs. I am at this Time in great haſte, and therefore can ſay no more to my dear dear Mrs. *Freeman*, but that I am moſt paſſionately her's *.

As my early Zeal for the Whigs is inconteſtably manifeſt from what her Majeſty here ſays to me, ſo, I think, it will be no leſs evident to any one who reflects on my Situation at that Time, that this Zeal could proceed from nothing but Conviction of the Goodneſs of the Cauſe I eſpouſed.

For, as to private Intereſt, the Whigs could have done nothing for my Advantage more than the Tories. I needed not the Aſſiſtance of either to in-

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* *The Queen very ſeldom dated her Letters fully, and the Year is not mentioned in the Date of this, but it is evident from the Contents, that it was written in* 1702, *the firſt Year of her Majeſty's Reign; for ſhe went that Year to my Lord Mayor's Show, and nothing but her going could have made it unavoidable for me to go, if I were in Town. And whoever will give themſelves the Trouble of the Enquiry, will find that the* 24th *of* October *fell that Year on a Saturday, and that the Queen made her Speech to the Parliament a few Days before.*

gratiate

gratiate me with the Queen. She had both before and ſince her Acceſſion, given the moſt unqueſtionable Proofs, that ſhe conſidered me, not only as a moſt faithful Servant, but as her dear Friend. I have mentioned nothing of her extreme Goodneſs to me ſince the breaking out of the Quarrel between her Siſter and her, that I might not interrupt the Relation of that Matter in which my chief Aim was the Juſtification of my Miſtreſs's Conduct and my own upon that Occaſion. Her Letters to me afterwards (of which I have great Numbers ſtill by me) were in the ſame Strain of Tenderneſs as thoſe you have read; and upon her coming to the Crown, ſhe had not only made me her Groom of the Stole, and Keeper of the Privy-purſe, but had given the Command of the Army to my Lord *Marlborough*, and the Treaſurer's Staff to my Lord *Godolphin*, to whoſe Son my eldeſt Daughter was married.

It is plain therefore that I could have no Motive of private Intereſt to biaſs me to the Whigs. Every Body muſt ſee, that had I conſulted that Oracle about the Choice of a Party, it would certainly have directed me to go with the Stream of my Miſtreſs's Inclination and Prejudices. This would have been the ſureſt Way to ſecure my Favour with her.

Nor had I any particular Obligations to the Whigs that ſhould bend me to their Side rather than to the other. On the contrary they had treated me very hardly, and I had reaſon to look upon them as my perſonal Enemies, at the ſame Time that I ſaw the Tories ready to compliment me, and to pay me Court. Even the Pride of my Lord *Rocheſter* condeſcended to write me a very fine Piece, when my Lady *Charlotte Beverwaert* died, that his Daughter, my Lady *Dalkeith*, might be a Lady of the Bed-chamber in her Place. I

confeſs

confeſs indeed, I was not a little ſurpriſed at this Application from his Lordſhip. I thank God, I have had Experience enough of my own Temper to be very ſure, I can forgive any Injury, when the Perſon, from whom I have received it, ſhows any thing like Repentance. But could I ever be ſo unfortunate, as to perſecute another without Cauſe, as my Lord *Rocheſter* did me, I am confident, that even Want of Bread could not induce me to aſk a Favour of that Perſon. But ſurely his Lordſhip had ſomething very uncommon in his Temper.

What induced him to the preſent Condeſcenſion, was, I ſuppoſe, his late Experience, that I did not make uſe of my Influence with the Queen, to gratify any perſonal Pique or Reſentment. For upon the Queen's Acceſſion to the Throne, Lady *Hyde* had ſpoke to me that ſhe might be a Lady of the Bed-chamber, and I had ſerved her very ſincerely and effectually. For tho' the Queen did not like her, yet, as her Majeſty had been pleaſed to forgive the ill Behaviour of my Lord *Rocheſter* to her, during the Reigns of King *Charles*, King *James* and Queen *Mary*, I thought it reaſonable that his Son's Wife ſhould be a Lady of the Bed-chamber. There was, in Truth, a particular Pleaſure in ſerving my Lady *Hyde* in this Inſtance on her own Account; for in my Life I never ſaw any Mortal have ſuch a Paſſion for any Thing, as ſhe had to be in that Poſt. While the Thing was depending, ſhe had ſo much Concern upon her, that ſhe never ſpoke to me on this Subject without Bluſhing. And after it was granted, ſhe made me more Expreſſions, than ever I had from any Body on any Occaſion. Among other Compliments, I had this Letter from her.

Monday

Monday Morning.

I Have been three Times in the Drawing Room, in hopes to meet your Ladyſhip there, that I might myſelf tell you, how extreme ſenſible I am of your Ladyſhip's Favour to me. You will add another, if you forgive my Impatience, that cannot ſtay longer without thanking you myſelf, though Mrs. *Lowther* has undertaken for me. I am very happy in my Requeſt being granted, and your Ladyſhip may depend, any Command of your's ſhall be obeyed, for I will not, without your Leave, brag even to my Lady *Harriotte*, who did me the Favour to ſpeak to your Ladyſhip. I am not good at ſaying much, but I am ſure it will be a Pleaſure to me to ſhew you in every thing I can, how faithfully and ſincerely I am

Your Ladyſhip's humble Servant,

J. HYDE.

In what Manner this Lady treated me afterwards is not worth the while to mention.

As to my Lord *Rocheſter*'s Requeſt in behalf of my Lady *Dalkeith*, it could not be granted; becauſe in reality there was no Vacancy. The Queen had reſolved to have no more than ten Ladies, and the Number was complete. There had indeed been eleven for ſome ſhort time; but this had been occaſioned by the Ducheſs of *Somerſet*'s declining to accept one of theſe Places when it was offered her at the ſettling of the Queen's Family, and ſoon after deſiring to have it when they were all filled. As ſhe was the firſt Proteſtant Ducheſs of *England* I perſuaded the Queen to be pleaſed, in compliment to her Grace, to have eleven Ladies for the little Time Lady *Charlotte Beverwaert* had to live, who was then irrecoverably ill. So that when her Majeſty complied, it was with full purpoſe that the

Number of her Ladies ſhould be only ten after Lady *Charlotte*'s Death. And this Anſwer having been given to ſeveral others who had ſollicited to ſucceed Lady *Charlotte*, my Lord *Rocheſter* could have no Reaſon to be offended, that the like Excuſe was made to him, with regard to his Daughter.

I have been the more particular on this Affair, that it may appear, the Refuſal my Lord *Rocheſter* met with was not owing any Reſentment of mine, againſt him or his Family. And I do aſſure you moſt ſincerely, that I could ſo entirely have forgotten all his Lordſhip's ill Treatment of me, as to have acted in Concert and Friendſhip with him, if I had thought he would have follow'd the Queen's true Intereſt. But the Gibberiſh of that Party about Non-Reſiſtance, and Paſſive-Obedience and Hereditary Right, I could not think to forebode any Good to my Miſtreſs, whoſe Title reſted upon a different Foundation. On the other hand, the Principles profeſſed by thoſe called Whigs ſeemed to me rational, entirely tending to the Preſervation of the Liberties of the Subject, and no way to the Prejudice of the Church as by Law eſtabliſh'd; for which, I believe I may without Vanity venture to ſay, I had at leaſt as much Reſpect, as the Duke of *Buckingham* or Sir *Edward Seymour*. And as this was really my Way of thinking concerning the two Parties, it would have been contrary to the Frankneſs of my Temper and to the Obligations of that Friendſhip with which the Queen honour'd me, not to have told her my Sentiments without Reſerve. Nay I had her expreſs Command ſo to do. She had often urged me to it, in almoſt the ſame Terms ſhe uſes in a Letter of her own Hand-writing, which I have now before me.

YOU

YOU can never give me any greater Proof of your Friendſhip than in telling me your Mind freely in all Things, which I do beg you to do, *&c.*

I did therefore ſpeak very freely and very frequently to her Majeſty upon the Subject of Whig and Tory, according to my Conception of their different Views and Principles. It was at firſt to little Effect; and perhaps I ſhould never have ſucceeded ſo far as I did, if the Leaders of the Tories had not by the Heat and Agitation with which they over-acted their Part, expoſed that monopolizing Ambition, which ought to have been better concealed under the Cloak of Zeal for the Church.

The Church of *England*, one would naturally think, could not be in any *immediate* Danger of periſhing under the Care of ſuch *a nurſing Mother* as the Queen, whoſe Affection to it was never doubted, and who, for its better Security, had choſen its moſt renowned Champions to be of her Miniſtry and Council. Nevertheleſs in the very firſt new Parliament, after her Majeſty's Acceſſion, it was thought neceſſary with all Diligence to provide new Strength, new Supports for this flouriſhing Church, as if it had been in the moſt tottering and declining Condition.

One cannot better repreſent the noble Spirit, with which the Zealots began their Play than by tranſcribing ſome Part of the Commons Addreſs to the Queen, in anſwer to her moſt gracious Speech at the opening of the Seſſions.

—'Your Majeſty has been always a moſt illu-
'ſtrious Ornament to this Church, and has been ex-
'poſed to great Hazards for it, and therefore we pro-
'miſe ourſelves, that in your Majeſty's Reign, we
'ſhall ſee it perfectly reſtored to its due Rights

'and Privileges, and ſecured in the ſame to Poſteri-
'ty; which is only to be done by diveſting thoſe
'Men of the Power, who have ſhewn they want
'not the Will to deſtroy it.'

The Queen in her Speech had declared her Reſolution to defend and maintain the Church as by Law eſtabliſhed. Of *this* they tell her they have no doubt, after her repeated Aſſurances. But *this* was not enough. So illuſtrious an Ornament of the Church muſt not content herſelf with protecting it in its *legal* Rights, but ſhe muſt contribute to reſtore it to its *due* Rights, that is, ſhe muſt reſtore Tories and high Churchmen to their *divine* Rights and Privileges of poſſeſſing all the civil Offices in the State, and being the only Men elected to ſerve in Parliament, to the Excluſion of all Whigs and low Churchmen, who being Enemies of the Church, and having a Will to deſtroy it, muſt be diveſted of the Power to execute their Malice.

That this was the Meaning of the Addreſs I believe no body doubts; and the *occaſional conformity Bill*, which in Conſequence of this Zeal for the Church, was ſoon brought into Parliament, did not aim at excluding from Employments the *occaſional* Conformiſts only, but all thoſe *conſtant* Conformiſts too, who could not reliſh the High-Church Nonſenſe of promoting Religion by Perſecution. For as the Tories were well acquainted with her Majeſty's entire Devotion to the Church, they deſigned this *Bill*, as a *Teſt*, whereby ſhe might certainly diſtinguiſh its Friends from its Foes; and they doubted not but ſhe would reckon among the latter whoever ſhould oppoſe ſo religious a Scheme.

The Bill, as every Body knows, was carried triumphantly through the Houſe of Commons; and the Prince of *Denmark* (though himſelf an occaſional Conformiſt) was perſuaded to vote for it, in the Houſe

Houſe of Lords. However it miſcarried there (I forgot how) to the great Diſappointment and Mortification of the Party. Nay it began to be ſuſpected that ſome of the chief Men at Court were not ſo zealous in the good Cauſe as they ſhould be. My Lord *Rocheſter* was, I think, the firſt of the Tory Leaders that diſcover'd a deep Diſcontent with the Queen and her Adminiſtration. Before the End of the Year he reſign'd the Lieutenancy of *Ireland* in great Wrath, upon her Majeſty's being ſo unreaſonable as to preſs him to go thither to attend the Affairs of that Kingdom, which greatly needed his Preſence. For as the Revenue, which had been formerly granted was out, it was neceſſary to call a Parliament in order to another Supply; and a Parliament could not be held without a Lord-Lieutenant. But when the Queen repreſented theſe Things to him, he told her with great Inſolence, that *he would not go into* Ireland, *though ſhe would give the Country to him and his Son*; ſo that he ſeems to have accepted the Poſt only that he might reign in *Ireland* by the Miniſtry of his Brother *Keightley*, as he hoped to do in *England* in Perſon. Nor could he after his Reſignation, overcome his Anger ſo far as to wait upon the Queen or to go to Council; which ſhe obſerving, ordered, after ſome Time, that he ſhould no more be ſummoned, ſaying, 'it 'was not reaſonable my Lord *Rocheſter* ſhould come 'to Council only when he pleaſed.'

Perhaps his Lordſhip's Unwillingneſs to leave *England* might proceed from his Zeal for the Church, and from his Fears leſt it ſhould be betrayed in his Abſence. But it was generally thought, and I believe with good Reaſon, that the true Source of his Diſatisfaction was the Queen's not making him her ſole Governor and Director, and my Lord *Godolphin*'s being preferr'd before him for

the Treaſury: Which, if true, affords a remarkable Inſtance, how much Self-Love and Self Conceit can blind even a Man of Senſe; for ſuch, by his Party at leaſt, he was eſteemed to be. I don't wonder that he ſhould like Power (it is what moſt People are fond of) or that being related to the Queen he ſhould expect a particular Conſideration. This was very natural and very reaſonable, if he had behav'd himſelf to her as he ought: But when one conſiders, that his Relation to her was by ſuch a Sort of Accident, and that his Conduct had been ſo very extraordinary, 'ts an amazing Thing that he ſhould imagine, he was to domineer over the Queen and every Body elſe, as he did over his own Family.

Whether the Church was in any Danger or not *before*, it could not be queſtioned by any good Churchman, but it *now* began to be in ſome Peril when my Lord *Rocheſter* was no longer in Place, nor in the Council.

The Bill againſt occaſional Conformity was revived by the Tories the next Seſſions of Parliament; which Proceeding, whatever Regard it might ſhow for the Church, did certainly ſhow little Reſpect or Gratitude to the Queen, who had hitherto ſhowered her Favours upon the Party. For her Majeſty having been informed, that this Bill had alarmed a great Part of her Subjects, who were otherwiſe perfectly well affected to her Government, and no leſs able than zealous to aſſiſt her in carrying on the War againſt the common Enemy, had endeavoured in her Speech, by the warmeſt Expreſſions, to diſſuade the Parliament from this Meaſure, as it might prove a Source of fatal Diviſions at Home, where Union and Harmony were ſo neceſſary in order to the Succeſs of our Affairs Abroad.

But the Intereſt of the *Church*, that is, of *High-Churchmen*, was to be preferred before the Intereſt of

of the Queen or of the Nation, or the Preſervation of the Liberties of *Europe*. The Bill was therefore brought in again; but, though it had once more an eaſy Paſſage through the Houſe of Commons, it met with the ſame Fate as the Year before in the Houſe of Lords.

This new Blow to the Church was ſoon followed by another, the Removal of Lord *Jerſey* and Sir *Edward Seymour* from their Employments; and about the ſame Time Lord *Nottingham* reſigned his Place of Secretary of State, becauſe the Whigs were too much favoured.

The Whigs did indeed begin to be favoured, and with good Reaſon. For when they ſaw that my Lord *Marlborough* proſecuted the common Cauſe with ſuch hearty Diligence and ſuch unexpected Succeſs, they, notwithſtanding the Partiality which had been ſhewn to their Oppoſites, univerſally forgot their Reſentments, and no longer conſidering themſelves as an oppreſſed Party, ran in with the loudeſt Acclamations, extolling his Merit and Services: And as the Trade and Money of the Nation were chiefly in the Hands of thoſe, who eſpouſed the Cauſe, in which the Miniſtry were then engaged, it is no Wonder that my Lord *Godolphin* began to pay them as much Regard as the Times and the Queen's Prejudices would permit him to do.

The Church in the mean while, it muſt be confeſſed, was in a deplorable Condition. The Earls of *Rocheſter*, *Jerſey*, and *Nottingham*, and Sir *Edward Seymour* out of Place, and the Whigs coming into Favour. It was reſolved therefore the next Seſſions of Parliament to tack the occaſional conformity Bill to the Money Bill, a Reſolution which ſhewed the Spirit of the Party in its true Light. But it happened that my Lord *Marlborough*, in the Summer before the Parliament met, gained the

Battle

Battle of *Blenheim*. This was an unfortunate Accident; and by the viſible Diſſatisfaction of ſome People on the News of it, one would have imagined, that inſtead of beating the *French*, he had beat the Church. And I cannot here omit one remarkable Inſtance of true party Spirit in the Tories on this Occaſion. My Lord *Marlborough*, before he had ſufficient Opportunity of ſhewing the Greatneſs of the General, had, for his firſt Succeſſes in the War, been complimented by this very Houſe of Commons, as the *Retriever of the Glory of the* Engliſh *Nation*, being then reputed a high Churchman. But now that he was thought to look towards the moderate Party, his *complete Victory* at *Blenheim* was, in the Addreſs of Congratulation to the Queen, ridiculouſly paired with Sir *George Rook*'s *drawn Battle* with the *French* at Sea.

However, neither the Glory of this Victory, nor the important Conſequences of it, could be hid, even from the Eyes of thoſe who would have been the moſt willing not to ſee them. The Power of *France* was broken by it to a great Degree, and the Liberties and Peace of *Europe* were in a fair Way to be eſtabliſhed upon firm and laſting Foundations. The leſs violent Part of the Tories therefore could not be prevailed with to hazard theſe great and pleaſing Hopes, by tacking them to the Fortune of the *occaſional conformity Bill*. The Tack was rejected by the Majority of the Members, even of this Houſe of Commons, ſo rich in Tories and high Churchmen. And though the Bill by itſelf was afterwards paſſed in that Houſe, it was again thrown out by the Lords.

The laſt great Wound given to the Church this Year, was by the Queen's taking the Privy Seal from the Duke of *Buckingham*.

And the next Year I prevail'd with her Majeſty to

to take the great Seal from Sir *Nathan Wright*, a Man deſpiſed by all Parties, of no Uſe to the Crown, and whoſe weak and wretched Conduct in the Court of *Chancery*, had almoſt brought his very Office into Contempt. His Removal however was a great Loſs to the Church, for which he had ever been a warm Stickler. And this Loſs was the more ſenſibly felt, as his Succeſſor, my Lord *Cowper*, was not only of the Whig Party, but of ſuch Abilities and Integrity, as brought a new Credit to it in the Nation.

But, what was worſe than all theſe Misfortunes, the Majority of the Houſe of Commons in the new Parliament in 1705, proved to be Whig.

No wonder if, in theſe ſad Circumſtances, a loud and piteous Cry was raiſed upon the extreme Danger of the poor Church. A doleful Piece, penn'd by ſome of the Zealots of the Party, and called *the Memorial of the Church of* England, was printed and ſpread Abroad, ſetting forth her melancholy Condition and Diſtreſs; and much Lamentation it occaſioned. But what Remedy? There could be no Hope of getting an *occaſional conformity Bill* paſſed in this Parliament. One Expedient ſtill remained; and this was, to invite the Princeſs *Sophia* of *Hanover*, the preſent King's Grandmother, to come over and defend the Church. Her Preſence here, though ſhe would not probably, as being a Lutheran, be very zealous for a Bill againſt occaſional Conformiſts, yet might happily prove a Means to hinder the Whigs from bringing in Popery and the Pretender. A Motion was therefore made in the Houſe of Lords for this Invitation; and the Neceſſity of it was urged with Strength of Argument by the Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Nottingham*, and the other grave Men of the Party. Not that they had the leaſt Hope or the leaſt Deſire to carry their Point,

but being well aſſured that the Queen would never conſent to ſuch an Invitation, nor pardon her Miniſters if they encouraged the Deſign, this was a notable Stratagem, to ruin them, either with her Majeſty, or with the Nation; for if in compliance to her Prejudices they oppoſed this Motion, it was to be hoped it would draw the publick Odium upon them, as declared Enemies to the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

This hopeful Scheme however did not ſucceed. The Whigs oppoſed the Invitation, and yet preſerved their Credit to the great Mortification of the other Party. I know that my Lord *Godolphin*, and other great Men, were much reflected upon by ſome well diſpoſed Perſons, for not laying hold of this Opportunity, which the Tories put into their Hands, of more effectually ſecuring the Succeſſion to the Crown in the Houſe of *Hanover*. But thoſe of the Whigs, whoſe Anger againſt the Miniſter was raiſed on this Account, little knew how impracticable the Project of *Invitation* was, and that the Attempt would have only ſerved to make the Queen diſcard her Miniſtry, to the Ruin of the common Cauſe of theſe Kingdoms, and of all *Europe*. I had often tried her Majeſty upon this Subject; and when I found that ſhe would not hear of the immediate Succeſſor's coming over, had preſſed her that ſhe would at leaſt invite hither the young Prince of *Hanover*, who was not to be her immediate Succeſſor, and that ſhe would let him live here as her Son: but her Majeſty would liſten to no Propoſal of this Kind in any Shape whatſoever.

To give a full Anſwer to all Objections againſt the Miniſters Conduct with regard to this Matter, I ſhall here relate a Tranſaction that paſſed three Years afterwards, which will ſhew not only the

Inſincerity

Inſincerity of the Tories in their Zeal for the Houſe of *Hanover*, when they moved for the Princeſs *Sophia*'s being invited hither, but how inſuperably averſe the Queen was to ſuffer the Preſence of any of that Family.

My Lord *Haverſham*, a great Speech-maker, and who was become the Mouth of the Party for any extraordinary Alarm, was ſent privately by the Tories to the Queen, to acquaint her with the Diſcovery, they pretended to have made, of a terrible Deſign formed by the Whigs, to bring over one of the Houſe of *Hanover*, and to force this upon her whether ſhe would or not. Now can any thing be more curious than ſuch a Meſſage from the Tories, and by ſuch a Meſſenger? For my Lord *Haverſham* was the Man who had moved for the Princeſs *Sophia*'s coming over as a Thing neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion. But *now* any Deſign of inviting hither one of that Family was of ſo frightful a Nature, that it muſt be eſteemed meritorious to give early Notice of the Danger. I ſhall make no further Comment upon this Proceeding, but tranſcribe a Part of the Queen's Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough* upon this Occaſion.

July 22d 1708.

I Cannot end this without giving you an Account in ſhort, of a Viſit I had from Lord *Haverſham*. He told me his Buſineſs was to let me know, there was certainly a Deſign laying between the Whigs and ſome great Men, to have an Addreſs made in the next Seſſions of Parliament for inviting the Electoral Prince over to ſettle here, and that he would certainly come to make a Viſit, as ſoon as the Campaign was over, and that there was nothing for me to do, to prevent my being forced to do this, (as I certainly would) but my ſhowing

myſelf to be Queen, and making it my own Act. I told him, if this Matter ſhould be brought into Parliament, whoever propoſed it, whether Whig or Tory, I ſhould look upon neither of them as my Friends, nor would ever make any Invitation neither to the young Man, nor his Father, nor his Grandmother.

——— What I have to ſay upon this Subject, at this Time, is, to beg you would find whether there is any Deſign where you are, that the young Man ſhould make a Viſit in the Winter, and contrive ſome Way to put any ſuch Thought out of their Head, that the Difficulty may not be brought upon me of refuſing him Leave to come, if he ſhould aſk it; or forbidding him to come, if he ſhould attempt it: For one of theſe two Things *I muſt do*, if either he or his Father ſhould have any Deſires to have him ſee this Country, it being a Thing *I cannot bear*, to have any Succeſſor here, though but for a Week: And therefore I ſhall depend upon you, to do every thing on the other ſide of the Water to prevent this Mortification from coming upon her that is, and ever will be, moſt ſincerely, &c.

To return to the Motion for inviting the Princeſs *Sophia*. It was upon this Occaſion, that the Queen gave the firſt Indications of any thing like a real Reconcilement to the Whigs. For though ſhe had been prevailed with to expreſs a Deſire, that the Parliament would avoid Meaſures tending to create Diviſions and Animoſities at Home, (meaning the Occaſional Conformity Bill) yet you will ſee by the following Letters from her Majeſty to me, how much ſhe lean'd all along, in her Inclination, to the Tories, and even to thoſe very Meaſures

ſures ſhe would have diſſuaded them from; and which ſhe only thought unſeaſonable at that Time.

Friday Morning.

I Give my dear Mrs. *Freeman* many Thanks for her long Letter, and am truly ſenſible of the ſincere Kindneſs you expreſs in it; and in Return, to eaſe your Mind, I muſt tell you, *Mr.* Bromley *will be diſappointed, for the Prince does not intend to go to the Houſe, when the Bill of Occaſional Conformity is brought in*; but at the ſame Time that I think him very much in the right not to vote in it, I ſhall not have the worſe Opinion of any of the Lords that are for it; for though *I ſhould have been very glad, it had not been brought into the Houſe of Commons*, becauſe I would not have had any Pretence given for quarrelling; I can't help thinking, *now it is as good as paſt there*, it will be *better for the Service to have it paſs the Houſe of Lords too.* I muſt own to you, that I never cared to mention any thing on this Subject to you, becauſe I knew you would not be of my Mind; but ſince you have given me this Occaſion, I can't forbear ſaying, that *I ſee nothing like Perſecution in this Bill. You may think it is a Notion Lord* Nottingham *has put into my Head, but upon my Word, it is my own Thought.* I am in Hopes I ſhall have one Look before you go to St. *Albans*, and therefore will ſay no more now, but will anſwer your Letter more at large, ſome other time; and only promiſe my dear Mrs. *Freeman* faithfully, I will read the *Book* ſhe ſent me, and beg ſhe would never let Difference of Opinion hinder us from living together, as we uſed to do. Nothing ſhall ever alter your poor, unfortunate,

faithful *Morley*, who will live and die with all Truth and Tenderneſs, your's *.

The following Letters from the Queen to me, relate to the Occaſional Conformity Bill, when it was intended to tack it to the Money Bill in 1704.

November 17th 1704.

—I Am ſure no Body ſhall endeavour more to promote it [*Union*] than your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley, *who doth not at all doubt of your Truth and Sincerity to her*, and hopes *her not agreeing in every thing you ſay*, will not be imputed to want of Value, Eſteem, or tender Kindneſs for my dear dear Mrs *Freeman*, it being impoſſible for any one to be more ſincerely another's, than I am your's.

St. *James*'s, *November* the 21ſt.

I Had juſt ſealed up my Letter on *Saturday* night as I received the Satisfaction of my dear Mrs. *Freeman*'s of that Day's Date, but would not open it again, concluding I ſhould have Time, either *Sunday* or *yeſterday*, to thank you for it. When

* *It is evident, that this Letter, though it bears no other Date than* Friday *Morning, was written about the Beginning of* December 1703, *when the Occaſional Conformity Bill was brought in by Mr.* Bromley. *And it is probable, from ſome Words in the Letter, that this Bill had paſſed the Committee, when the Queen wrote.*

Lord Nottingham, *by whoſe Advice, the Queen, ſuppoſes, that I believed her influenced, was then Secretary of State.*

The Prince of Denmark *did not vote for the Bill this Year, nor go to the Houſe on this Occaſion; ſo that Mr.* Bromley *was diſappointed.*

Sunday

Sunday came I had ſeveral Hindrances, and *yeſterday* I ſat down to write, but was hinder'd by one of the *Scots* People coming to ſpeak with me, or elſe I ſhould not have been ſo long without telling you, I am very ſorry, you ſhould forbear writing upon the Apprehenſion of your Letters being troubleſom, *ſince you know very well they are not, nor ever can be ſo*, but the contrary, to your poor, unfortunate, faithful *Morley*. Upon what my dear Mrs. *Freeman* ſays again concerning the Addreſs, I have looked it over again, and cannot for my Life ſee, one can put any other Interpretation upon that Word *Preſſures*, than what I have done already. As to my ſaying the Church was in ſome Danger in the late Reign, I cannot alter my Opinion; for though there was no violent Thing done, every body that will ſpeak impartially muſt own, that every Thing was leaning towards the Whigs, *and whenever that is, I ſhall think the Church beginning to be in Danger* *.

But though it appears by theſe Letters that the Queen was not hitherto inwardly converted to the Whigs, neither by all that I had been able to ſay, nor even by the mad Conduct of the tacking Tories, yet, as I before hinted, their Behaviour in the Affair of the *Invitation* occaſioned ſomething like a Change in her. She had been preſent at the Debates in the Houſe of Lords upon that Subject, and had heard the Duke of *Buckingham* treat her with great Diſreſpect, urging as an Argument for invi-

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* *It would be hard to determine from the imperfect Date of this Letter, or the Subject Matter of it, whether it was writ in* 1703 or 1704; *but as the firſt Lines of it ſhew, that it was written on a* Tueſday, *this fixes it to* 1704, *the* 21ſt *of* November *falling that Year on a* Tueſday.

The Occaſional Conformity Bill was read the firſt Time 23*d* November.

ting over the Princeſs *Sophia*, that the Queen might live till ſhe did not know what ſhe did, and be like a Child in the Hands of others; and a great deal to the ſame Effect. Such rude Treatment from the Tories, and the Zeal and Succeſs of the Whigs in oppoſing a Motion, ſo extremely diſagreeable to her, occaſioned her to write to me in the following Terms.

I Believe dear Mrs. *Freeman* and I ſhall not diſagree as we have formerly done; for I am ſenſible of the Services thoſe People have done me that you have a good Opinion of, and will countenance them, and am thoroughly convinced of the Malice and Inſolence of *them*, that you have always been ſpeaking againſt.

And at this ſame Time, her Majeſty authorized my Lord *Godolphin* to give the utmoſt Aſſurances to the chief Men of the Whigs, that ſhe would put herſelf and her Affairs into ſuch Hands as they ſhould approve, and would do every Thing poſſible for the Security of the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

But notwithſtanding this, it was not till after much Sollicitation, that her Majeſty could be prevailed with, ſo far to oblige the Whigs, as to make my Lord *Sunderland*, Secretary of State in the room of Sir *Charles Hedges*. The Whigs after the Services they had done, and the Aſſurances the Queen had given them, thought it reaſonable to expect, that one of the Secretaries at leaſt ſhould be ſuch a Man as they could place a Confidence in. They believed they might truſt my Lord *Sunderland*; and though they did not think him the propereſt Man for the Poſt, yet being my Lord *Marlborough*'s Son-in-law, they choſe to recommend him to her Majeſty, becauſe, as they expreſſed themſelves

ſelves to me, they imagined it was *driving the Nail that would go.*

I muſt obſerve here that my Lord *Marlborough* was not, in his Inclination, for this Promotion of my Lord *Sunderland*. I have a Letter from him expreſſing his Diſlike to the Deſign. But how hard preſſed both he and my Lord *Godolphin* were by the Whigs to have it brought to Effect, will fully appear by the following Letter on the ſame Subject.

Grametz October 1706.

WHEN I writ my laſt, I was very full of the Spleen, and I think with too much Reaſon. My whole Time, to the beſt of my Underſtanding, has been employed for the publick Good, as I do aſſure you I do in the Preſence of God, neglecting no Opportunity of letting 83 * ſee what I take to be her true Intereſt. It is terrible to go through ſo mueh Uneaſineſs. I do not ſay this to flatter any Party, for I will never do it, let the Conſequence be what it will. For, as Parties, they are both in the Wrong. But 'tis certain 73 and his Adherents are not to be truſted. So that 83 * has no Choice, but that of employing thoſe who will carry on the War and Support 91 †. And if any other Method is taken I know we ſhall go into Confuſion. Now this being the Caſe, I leave you to judge, whether I am dealt kindly with? I do not ſay this for any other End, but to have your Juſtice and Kindneſs; for in that will conſiſt my future Happineſs. I am ſure I would venture a thouſand Lives, if I had them, to procure Eaſe and Happineſs to the Queen. And yet no Number of Men could perſuade me to act as a Miniſter in what was not my Opinion. So that I ſhall

* *The Queen.* † *Lord Godolphin.*

never

never fail in ſpeaking my Mind very freely. And as my Opinion is, that the Tackers and all the Adherents of 73 are not for carrying on the War, which is for the true Intereſt of the Queen and Kingdom, you may depend I ſhall never join with any but ſuch as I think will ſerve her and the true Intereſt of our Country with all their Hearts. And if the War continues but one Year longer with Succeſs, I hope it will not be in any Body's Power to make the Queen's Buſineſs uneaſy. And then I ſhall be glad to live as quiet as poſſible, and not envy the governing Men, who would then I believe think better of 90 and 91 * than they now do. And I will own frankly to you, that the Jealouſy ſome of your Friends have, that 90 and 91 do not act ſincerely, makes me ſo weary, that were it not for my Gratitude for 83, and Concern for 91, I would now retire and never ſerve more. For I have had the good Luck to deſerve better from all *Engliſhmen*, than to be ſuſpected for not being in the true Intereſt of my Country; which I am in and ever will be, without being of a Faction. And this Principle ſhall govern me for the little Remainder of my Life. I muſt not think of being popular; but I ſhall have the Satisfaction of my going to the Grave with the Opinion of having acted, as became an honeſt Man. And if I have your Eſteem and Love, I ſhould think myſelf entirely happy. Having writ thus far, I have received your two Letters of the 20th and 21ſt, which confirm me in my Opinion before. And ſince the Reſolution is taken to vex and ruin 91, becauſe 83 has not complied with what was deſired for 117 †, I ſhall from henceforward deſpiſe all Mankind, and think there is no ſuch

* *Lord* Marlborough *and Lord* Godolphin.

† *Lord* Sunderland.

Thing

Thing as Virtue. For I know with what Zeal 91 has preſſed 83 in that Matter. I do pity him, and ſhall always love him as long as I live; and never be a Friend to any that can be his Enemy.

I have writ my Mind very freely to 83, on this Occaſion, ſo that whatever Misfortune may happen, I ſhall have a quiet Mind, having done what I thought my Duty. And as for the Reſolution of making me uneaſy, I believe they will not have much Pleaſure in that, for as I have not ſet my Heart on having Juſtice done me, I ſhall not be diſappointed; nor will I be ill uſed by any Man.

I ſhall here add a Letter of my own to the Queen on the ſame Subject; and the rather, becauſe it not only confirms what I have ſaid of her Majeſty's *Unwillingneſs to oblige the Whigs*, but ſhews that as much as I oppoſed the Tories, I was no Enemy to the *Church* they *talked* of, ſo far as any Thing *real* and *excellent* was meant by that Word; and becauſe it contains ſo juſt a Prediction of the Uſage, the Queen afterwards met with, when ſhe fell into the Hands of the High Church Party.

BY the Letter I had from your Majeſty this Morning, and the great weight you put upon the Difference betwixt the Word Notion and Nation in my Letter, I am only made ſenſible (as by many other Things) that you were in a great Diſpoſition to complain of me, ſince to this Moment, I cannot for my Life ſee any eſſential Difference betwixt theſe two Words; as to the Senſe of my Letter, the true Meaning of which was only to let your Majeſty know, with that Faithfulneſs and Concern, which I have ever had for your Service, that it was not poſſible for you to carry on your Government much

longer, with ſo much Partiality to one ſort of Men, though they loſe no Occaſion of diſſerving you, and of ſhewing the greateſt Inveteracy againſt my Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord Treaſurer; and ſo much Diſcouragement to others, who, even after great Diſobligations, have taken ſeveral Opportunities to ſhew their Firmneſs to your Majeſty's Intereſt, and their Zeal to ſupport you, and your Miniſters too, only becauſe they had been faithful and uſeful Servants to you and the Publick.

This was all the Senſe and Meaning of my Letter, and if you can find fault with this, I am ſo unhappy as that you muſt always find fault with me, for *I am uncapable of thinking otherwiſe as long as I live, or of acting now but upon the ſame Principle that I ſerved you before you came to the Crown for ſo many Years, when your unlimited Favour and Kindneſs to me, could never tempt me to make Uſe of it in one ſingle Inſtance that was not for your Intereſt and Service.* I am afraid I have been too long in explaining my Thoughts upon the Subject of my own Letter, which it ſeems has been ſo great an Offence, and how juſtly I leave you to judge; and I muſt beg your Patience, ſince I am not very like to trouble you again, to let me ſay ſomething upon the Subject of your Letter to my Lord Treaſurer, which he has ſhewn me to-day, with more Concern than I know how to expreſs; This was indeed the Subject of my own Letter, and the Occaſion of it, for I do not only ſee the Uneaſineſs and the Grief he has to leave your Service, when you ſeem ſo deſirous he ſhould continue in it, but I ſee as well as he, the Impoſſibility of his being able to ſupport it, or himſelf, or my Lord *Marlborough*, for it all hangs upon one Thread; and when they are forced to leave your Service, *you will then indeed, find yourſelf in the Hands of a violent Party, who I am ſure will*

have

have very little Mercy or even Humanity for you. Whereas you might prevent all theſe Misfortunes, by giving my Lord Treaſurer and my Lord *Marlborough* (whom you may ſo ſafely truſt) leave to propoſe thoſe Things to you, which they know and can judge to be abſolutely neceſſary for your Service, which will put it in their Power to influence thoſe, who have given you Proofs both of their being able to ſerve you, and of their deſiring to make you great and happy. But rather than your Majeſty will employ a Party-Man, as you are pleaſed to call Lord *Sunderland*, you will put all Things in Confuſion, and at the ſame time that you ſay this, you employ Sir *C. Hedges*, who is in one againſt you, only that he has voted in remarkable Things that he might keep his Place; and he did the ſame thing in the late King's time, till at laſt, that every Body ſaw he was juſt dying and he could loſe nothing by differing with that Court: But formerly he voted with thoſe Men, the Enemies to this Government call Whigs, and if he had not been a Party-Man, how could he have been a Secretary of State, when all your Councils were influenced by my Lord *R.* Lord *Nott.* Sir *E. Seymour*, and about ſix or ſeven more juſt ſuch Men, that call themſelves *the Heroes for the Church?* But what Church can any Man be of that would diſturb ſo juſt a Government as yours, or how can any Body be in the true Intereſt of *England*, that oppoſes you and your Miniſters, by whoſe Advice, in four Years Time, you are very near pulling down the Power of *France*, and making *that Religion, they only talk of, not only more ſecure than in any of the late Reigns, but putting it upon a better Foundation than it has been ſince the Reformation.*

You are pleaſed to ſay you think it a great Hardſhip, to perſuade a Man to part with a Place he is

in Poſſeſſion of, for one that is not vacant. In ſome caſes that were certainly right, but not in this; for Sir *Charles Hedges* can have the Place he deſires immediately, and it is much better for him, unleſs he could be Secretary of State for Life. He will have two Places that are conſiderable, one of which he can compaſs no other Way, and this is ſo far from being a Hardſhip, that he and all the World, muſt think it a great Kindneſs done him, and he muſt be a very weak Man, if he loſt the Opportunity of having ſuch a Certainty, when he can't flatter himſelf that (whatever happens) he can be ſupported long in a Place of that Conſequence for which he is ſo unfit. He has no Capacity, no Quality, no Intereſt, nor ever could have been in that Poſt, but that every Body knows, my Lord *Rocheſter* cares for nothing ſo much as a Man that he thinks will depend upon him. I beg your Majeſty's Pardon for not waiting upon you, and I perſuade myſelf, that long as my Letter is, it will be leſs troubleſome to your Majeſty.

It was a Wonder to many, that this Affair of my Lord *Sunderland*'s Promotion met with ſuch Difficulties, conſidering his Relation to my Lord *Marlborough*, whoſe Merit with his Queen and Country was every Year augmenting. For, whilſt this Matter was in Suſpence, he obtained the Victory of *Ramilies*; on which Occaſion her Majeſty in a Letter dated from *Kenſington*, May 17, 1706, told him —— 'She wanted Words to expreſs the true Senſe ſhe had of the great Service he had done his Country and her, in that great and glorious Victory, and hoped it would be a Means to confirm all good and honeſt People in their Principles, and frighten others from being troubleſome; —— *and then ſpoke*, of the Allay it was to all her Satisfaction,

tion, to conſider what Hazards he was expoſed to,' ——*and repeated an obliging Requeſt ſhe had often made*, 'that he would be careful of himſelf.' I cannot doubt of the Queen's kind Diſpoſitions to my Lord *Marlborough* at this Time, or her Willingneſs, in general, to oblige him. And it quickly appeared, that the Difficulties raiſed by her Majeſty againſt parting with Sir *Charles Hedges*, were wholly owing to the Artifice and Management of Mr. *Harley*, the other Secretary of State, whoſe Intereſt and ſecret Tranſactions with the Queen were then doubtleſs in their Beginning. This Man had been put into that Poſt by the Lords *Marlborough* and *Godolphin*, when my Lord *Nottingham* in Diſguſt reſigned it. They thought him a very proper Perſon to manage the Houſe of Commons, upon which ſo much always depends: And his Artifices had won upon them ſo far that they could not be perſuaded, but they might ſecurely truſt him; till Experience too late convinced them of the contrary. And indeed (not to mention other Parts of his Behaviour) who would have thought that the Man, who had wrote the following Letter on Occaſion of Lord *Blandford*'s Death, could ſo ſoon have been laying Schemes for the Deſtruction of the Perſon to whom it was written?

My Lord,

THERE is no Servant of your Grace's is more ſenſibly affected with, I will not call it your Grace's Loſs, but our common Misfortune, than myſelf. And I wiſh to God the Part I can bear of it, would diſcharge your Grace of any of the Burden. I do feel it, that a Limb is torn off; therefore I think, for the Preſervation of the Reſidue, the Blood ſhould be ſtaunch'd, I mean, Grief ſhould be moderated; Time I know is the beſt Phyſician

ſician in this Caſe, but our Neceſſities require a quicker Remedy. And I doubt not but your Grace's Greatneſs of Mind will give what is due to Nature, without taking any thing from Reaſon. Be pleaſed to conſider that the Nation are your Children, the Publick needs all your Care, how little ſoever it may deſerve it.

I ſhall pay my Duty to your Grace, when you will permit me; in the mean time I beſeech your Pardon for this overflowing of my Paſſion, which is the Effect of the dutiful Affection of,

My Lord, your Grace's moſt humble
March 1. *and moſt obedient Servant,*
$170\frac{2}{3}$ R. HARLEY.

But to return, it is no wonder that Mr. *Harley*, with ſuch Views as he then had, ſhould be unwilling to ſee a Secretary of State diſplaced, over whom he thought he had ſome Influence, and through whoſe Hands the greater Part of the Buſineſs of his own Office (ſcandalouſly neglected by himſelf) uſed to paſs; and much more unwilling to have him ſucceeded by a Perſon over whom he had no Power whatſoever.

As for Sir *Charles Hedges*, when he found how backward the Queen was to diſmiſs him, he was ſo prudent as to make a greater Advantage to himſelf by quitting his Poſt, than he could have done by holding it. And in the Winter of 1706, Lord *Sunderland* was appointed to ſucceed him.

But notwithſtanding this Point thus carried by the Whigs, they were ſoon alarmed again by the Queen's Choice of two High Church Divines, to fill two vacant Biſhopricks. Several of the Whigs were diſpoſed to think themſelves betray'd by the Miniſtry; whereas the Truth was, that the Queen's Inclination

Inclination to the Tories being now ſooth'd by the Flatteries and Inſinuations of her private Counſellors, had begun to make it irkſom to her to conſult with her Miniſters upon any Promotions, either in the Church or the State. The firſt Artifice of thoſe Counſellors was, to inſtil into the Queen Notions of the high Prerogative of *acting without her Miniſters*, and (as they expreſſed it) of being Queen *indeed*. And the Nomination of Perſons to Biſhopricks againſt the Judgment and *Remonſtrances* of her Miniſtry, being what they knew her Genius would fall in with more readily than with any Thing elſe they could propoſe, they began with that; and they took Care that thoſe *Remonſtrances* ſhould be interpreted by the World, and reſented by herſelf as hard Uſage, a Denial of common Civility, and even *the making her no* Queen.

Her Majeſty however, to quiet the Diſſatisfaction of the Whigs for the late Promotions, ordered her Miniſters to aſſure them, that ſhe would prefer no more Tories, and ſhe gave the ſame Aſſurances with her own Mouth in the Cabinet Council. And ſhe was ſuffered by her ſecret Counſellors ſo far to obſerve this Promiſe, as to give, about the ſame Time, the Biſhoprick of *Norwich* to Dr. *Trimnel*; a particular Friend of Lord *Sunderland*'s. And ſhe alſo, ſome time after, gave the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity at *Oxford* to Dr. *Potter*, the preſent Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who had Dr. *Smalridge* for his Competitor, recommended by the Tories. But this latter Favour to the Whigs was not ſo eaſily obtained as the former. And, upon the Delays that were made in beſtowing it, my Lord *Marlborough* thought proper to try what Credit he had with a Queen, whoſe Glory he had carried to a Height beyond that of any of her Predeceſſors. He wrote therefore a very moving Letter to her, complain-

ing of the viſible Loſs of his Intereſt with her, and particularly of her ſo long deferring the Promotion ſhe had promiſed, of the Perſon recommended by her Miniſtry, as a faithful Friend to her Government, adding, that the only Way to make her Reign eaſy, was to be true to that Rule, which ſhe had profeſſed to lay down, of preferring none of thoſe, who appeared againſt her Service and the Nation's Intereſt, *&c.*—He wrote at the ſame Time to the ſame Effect to me, and I wrote to the Queen, and at length by much Solicitation this Matter was obtained, and Dr. *Potter* fixed in the Profeſſorſhip.

But this was only yielding up one ſmall Point, in order to conceal a much greater Deſign and bring it to Effect, when the Seaſon ſhould be ripe for it. It was about this Time, that the Miniſtry began to be aſſured of the ſecret Practices of Mr. *Harley* againſt them; and that I diſcovered the baſe Returns made me by Mrs. *Maſham*, upon whom I had heaped the greateſt Obligations.

The Story of this Lady, as well as of *that Gentleman*, who was her great Adviſer and Director, is worth the Knowledge of Poſterity, as it will lead them into a Senſe of the Inſtability of Court-Favour, and of the incurable Baſeneſs which ſome Minds are capable of contracting.

Mrs. *Maſham* was the Daughter of one *Hill*, a Merchant in the City, by a Siſter of my Father. Our Grandfather, Sir *John Jenyns*, had two and twenty Children, by which means the Eſtate of the Family (which was reputed to be about 4000 *l.* a Year) came to be divided into ſmall Parcels. Mrs. *Hill* had only 500 *l.* to her Portion. Her Huſband lived very well, as I have been told for many Years, till turning Projector, he brought Ruin upon himſelf and his Family. But as this was long

before I was born, I never knew there were ſuch People in the World, till after the Princeſs *Anne* was married, and when ſhe lived at the Cockpit; at which Time an Acquaintance of mine came to me and ſaid, *She believed I did not know, that I had Relations who were in want*, and ſhe gave me an Account of them. When ſhe had finiſhed her Story, I anſwered, *that indeed I had never heard before of any ſuch Relations*, and immediately gave her out of my Purſe ten Guineas for their preſent Relief, ſaying, I would do what I could for them. Afterwards I ſent Mrs. *Hill* more Money, and ſaw her. She told me that her Huſband was in the ſame Relation to Mr. *Harley*, as ſhe was to me, but that he had never done any thing for her.

I think Mrs. *Maſham*'s Father and Mother did not live long after this. They left four Children, two Sons and two Daughters. The eldeſt Daughter (afterwards Mrs. *Maſham*) was a grown Woman. I took her to St. *Albans*, where ſhe lived with me and my Children, and I treated her with as great Kindneſs, as if ſhe had been my Siſter. After ſome time a Bedchamber-woman of the Princeſs of *Denmark*'s died; and as in that Reign (after the Princeſſes were grown up) Rockers, though not Gentlewomen, had been advanced to be Bedchamber-women, I thought I might aſk the Princeſs to give the vacant Place to Mrs. *Hill*. At firſt indeed I had ſome Scruple about it, but this being removed by Perſons I thought wiſer, with whom I conſulted, I made the Requeſt to the Princeſs, and it was granted.

As for the younger Daughter (who is ſtill living) I engaged my Lord *Marlborough*, when the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Family was ſettled, to make her Laundreſs to him, which was a good Proviſion for her. And when the Duke of *Glouceſter* died, I ob-

tained for her a Penſion of 200 *l.* a Year, which I paid her out of the Privy-purſe. And in ſome time after I aſked the Queen's Leave to buy her an Annuity out of ſome of the Funds, repreſenting to her Majeſty, that as the Privy-purſe Money produced no Intereſt, it would be the ſame thing to her, if inſtead of the Penſion to Mrs. *Hill*, ſhe gave her at once a Sum ſufficient to purchaſe an Annuity; and that by this Means her Majeſty would make a *certain* Proviſion for one, who had ſerved the Duke of *Glouceſter*. The Queen was pleaſed to allow the Money for that Purchaſe, and it is very probable that Mrs. *Hill* has the Annuity to this Day, and perhaps nothing elſe, unleſs ſhe ſaved Money after her Siſter had made her Deputy to the Privy-purſe, which ſhe did, as ſoon as ſhe had ſupplanted me.

The elder Son was, at my Requeſt, put by my Lord *Godolphin* into a Place in the Cuſtom-houſe; and when, in order to his Advancement to a better, it was neceſſary to give Security for his good Behaviour, I got a Relation of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s to be bound for him in two thouſand Pounds.

His Brother (whom the Bottle-men afterwards called *honeſt Jack Hill*) was a tall Boy, whom I cloathed, (for he was all in Rags) and put to School at St. *Albans* to one Mr. *James*, who had been an Uſher under Dr. *Buſby* of *Weſtminſter*. And whenever I went to St. *Alban's* I ſent for him, and was as kind to him as if he had been my own Child. After he had learnt what he could there, a Vacancy happening of Page of Honour to the Prince of *Denmark*, his Highneſs was pleaſed, at my Requeſt, to take him. I afterwards got my Lord *Marlborough* to make him Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Duke of *Glouceſter*. And though my Lord always ſaid that *Jack Hill was good for nothing*, yet to oblige me, he made him his *Aid de Camp*, and afterwards gave him a *Regiment*.

ment. But it was his Siſter's Intereſt that raiſed him to be a *General*, and to command in that ever memorable Expedition to *Quebec:* I had no Share in doing him theſe Honours. To finiſh what I have to ſay upon this Subject: When Mr. *Harley* thought it uſeful to attack the Duke of *Marlborough* in Parliament, this *Quebec General*, this *honeſt Jack Hill*, this *once ragged Boy*, *whom I clothed*, happening to be ſick in Bed, was nevertheleſs perſuaded by his *Siſter* to get up, wrap himſelf in warmer Clothes than thoſe I had given him, and go to the Houſe to vote againſt the Duke.

I may here add, that even the *Huſband* of Mrs. *Maſham* had ſeveral Obligations to me. It was at my Inſtance that he was firſt made a Page, than a Querry, and afterwards Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince; for all which he himſelf thank'd me, as for Favours procured by my Means.

As for Mrs. *Maſham* herſelf, I had ſo much Kindneſs for her, and had done ſo much to oblige her, without having ever done any thing to offend her, that it was too long before I could bring myſelf to think her other than a true Friend, or forbear rejoicing at any Inſtance of Favour ſhown her by the Queen. I obſerved indeed at length that ſhe was grown more ſhy of coming to me, and more reſerved than uſual, when ſhe was with me; but I imputed this to her peculiar Moroſeneſs of Temper, and for ſome Time made no other Reflection upon it.

The firſt thing, which led me into Enquiries about her Conduct, was, the being told (in the Summer of 1707,) that my Couſin *Hill* was privately married to Mr. *Maſham*. I went to her and aſked her if it were true, ſhe owned it was, and begged my Pardon for having concealed it from me. As much Reaſon as I had to take ill this Reſerve in her Behaviour, I was willing to impute it to Baſhfulneſs

and want of Breeding, rather than to any thing worſe. I embraced her with my uſual Tenderneſs, and very heartily wiſhed her Joy, and then, turning the Diſcourſe, entered into her Concerns in as friendly a Manner as poſſible, contriving how to accommodate her with Lodgings, by removing her Siſter into ſome of my own. I then enquired of her very kindly, whether the Queen knew of her Marriage; and very innocently offered her my Service, if ſhe needed it, to make that Matter eaſy. She had by this Time learnt the Art of Diſſimulation pretty well, and anſwered with an Air of Unconcernedneſs, that the *Bed-chamber Women had already acquainted the* Queen *with it*, hoping by this Anſwer to divert any farther Examination into the Matter. But I went preſently to the Queen and aſked her, *why ſhe had not been ſo kind as to tell me of my Couſin's Marriage*, expoſtulating with her upon the Point, and putting her in mind of what ſhe uſed often to ſay to me out of *Montaigne*, *that it was no Breach of Promiſe of Secrecy to tell ſuch a Friend any thing, becauſe it was no more than telling it to one's ſelf.* All the Anſwer I could obtain from her Majeſty was this, *I have a hundred Times bid* Maſham *tell it you, and ſhe would not.*

The Conduct both of the Queen and of Mrs. *Maſham*, convinced me that there was ſome Myſtery in the Affair, and thereupon I ſet myſelf to enquire as particularly as I could into it. And in leſs than a Week's time, I diſcovered, *that my Couſin was become an abſolute Favourite*; *that the* Queen *herſelf was preſent at her Marriage in Dr.* Arbuthnot's *Lodgings*, at which Time her Majeſty had called for a round Sum out of the Privy-purſe; *that Mrs.* Maſham *came often to the* Queen, *when the* Prince *was aſleep, and was generally two Hours every Day in private with her:* And I likewiſe then diſcovered beyond all Diſ-

pute,

pute, *Mr.* Harley's *Correſpondence and Intereſt at Court by means of this Woman.*

I was ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment at ſuch an Inſtance of Ingratitude, and ſhould not have *believed*, if there had been any Room left for *doubting*.

My Lord *Marlborough* was at firſt no leſs incredulous than I, as appears by the following Paragraph of a Letter from him, in anſwer to one from me on this Subject.

Meldeſt, June 3, 1707.

THE wiſeſt Thing is to have to do with as few People as poſſible. If you are ſure that Mrs. *Maſham* ſpeaks of Buſineſs to the Queen, I ſhould think, you might with ſome Caution tell her of it, which would do good. For ſhe certainly muſt be grateful and will mind what you ſay.

It became eaſy now to decypher many Particulars, which had hitherto remained myſterious, and my Reflection quickly brought to my Mind many Paſſages, which had ſeemed odd and unaccountable, but had left no Impreſſions of Suſpicion or Jealouſy. Particularly I remembered that a long while before this, being with the Queen, (to whom I had gone very privately by a ſecret Paſſage, from my Lodgings to the Bed-chamber) on a ſudden this Woman, not knowing I was there, came in with the boldeſt and gaieſt Air poſſible, but, upon Sight of me, ſtopped; and immediately, changing her Manner, and making a moſt ſolemn Courteſy, *did* your Majeſty *ring?* And then went out again. This ſingular Behaviour needed no Interpreter *now*, to make it underſtood. But, not to dwell on ſuch trifling Incidents, as ſoon as I had got a thorough Inſight into her Management, being naturally frank and open, I wrote to her the following Letter.

Sept.

Sept. 23d. 1707.

SInce the Converſation I had with you at your Lodgings, ſeveral Things have happened to confirm me in what I was hard to believe, that you have made me Returns very unſuitable to what I might have expected. I always ſpeak my Mind ſo plainly, that I ſhould have told you ſo myſelf, if I had had the Opportunity which I hoped for. But being now ſo near parting, think this way of letting you know it is like to be the leaſt uneaſy to you, as well as to

Your humble Servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

Though I was to go to *Woodſtock* the next Day, I ſtayed at *Windſor* almoſt all the Morning to wait her Anſwer. But this could not be had ſo ſoon, it being neceſſary to conſult with her great Director in ſo nice a Matter. At length however an Anſwer was ſent after me, the whole Frame and Stile of which ſhewed it to be the genuine Product of an artful Man, who knew perfectly well the Management of ſuch an Affair.

Windſor, Sept. 24. 1707.

WHILE I was expecting a Meſſage from your Grace, to wait upon you according to your Commands, laſt Night I received a Letter which ſurprizes me no leſs than it afflicts me, becauſe it lays a moſt heavy Charge upon me, of an ungrateful Behaviour to your Grace. Her Majeſty was pleaſed to tell me, that you was angry with me for not acquainting you with my Marriage. I did believe, after ſo generous a Pardon, your Grace would think no more of that. I am very confident, by the Expreſſion of your Letter, that ſomebody has told ſome malicious Lie of me to your Grace, from

from which it is impoſſible for me to vindicate myſelf till I know the Crime I am accuſed of. I am ſure, Madam, your Goodneſs cannot deny me what the meaneſt may aſk the greateſt; I mean Juſtice, to know my Accuſer. Without that, all Friendſhip muſt be at the Mercy of every malicious Liar, as they are, who have ſo barbarouſly and unjuſtly brought me under your Diſpleaſure, the greateſt Unhappineſs that could befal me; I therefore make it my humble Requeſt to your Grace, that if ever I had the leaſt Share of your Friendſhip; you would be pleaſed to give me that parting Token to let me know who this wicked Perſon is, and then I do not doubt but I ſhall make it plain how much they have wronged me, as well as impoſed upon your Grace. As my Affliction is very great, you will I hope in Compaſſion let me hear from you, and believe me what I really am,

Madam, your Grace's moſt humble
and faithful Servant,
A. HILL.

As I believe no Body at this Time doubts whether the Writer of this Letter was practiſing with the Queen to undermine me, I ſhall make no Reflections upon it. My Anſwer to it was in theſe Terms.

I Received your Letter upon the Road to this Place, and I can aſſure you the Occaſion of my Complaints did not proceed from any ill Offices that had been done you to me by any Body, but from my own Obſervation, which makes the Impreſſion much the ſtronger. But I think the Subject is not very proper for a Letter, and therefore I muſt defer

it

it till we meet, and give you no farther Trouble at this Time from,

Your moſt humble Servant,
S. MARLBOROUGH.

About the ſame Time that I made this Diſcovery of Mrs. *Maſham*'s *intriguing*, my Lord *Godolphin*, (as I before mentioned) got Notice of Mr. *Harley*'s Practices both within Doors and without. He was endeavouring to create in the Whigs Jealouſies of my Lord *Godolphin*, and my Lord *Marlborough*, and at the ſame Time aſſuring the Tories, that they might depend upon the Queen's inward Affection to *them*; and that it was wholly owing to thoſe two great Lords that the Tories were not ſtill poſſeſſed of all the Places and Employments. His Deſign was to ruin the Whigs, by diſuniting them from the Miniſtry, and ſo to pave the Way for the Tories to riſe again; whom he thought to unite in himſelf, as their Head, after he had made it impoſſible for them to think of a Reconciliation with the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin*.

But, that this able Politician might in all Things act ſuitably to his Parts and Genius, he, at the ſame Time that he was employed in the Manner I have related, was endeavouring to blind the Eyes of thoſe, whoſe Deſtruction he aimed at, by the moſt elaborate Compliments, and the moſt nauſeous Profeſſions of Affection and Duty.

I am perſuaded, my Lord, that as mean an Opinion as you have of this Gentleman, you will yet be ſurprized at his Manner of writing to my Lord *Marlborough* and myſelf. I have picked out of the Letters we had from him, ſome choice Pieces, which I think are real Curioſities, and, when compared with his After-Conduct, will ſerve excellently

cellently well towards forming a perfect Idea of his Character.

MADAM,

THO' the Advantage the Publick receives from this great and glorious Victory of *Schellenberg* is enough to inſpire every one's Heart with Joy, who loves either the Queen or the Nation, yet I muſt profeſs *I have a peculiar Satisfaction*; it enhances the Bleſſing to *me* by the Hand that wrought it; I ſhould have had a Share in common with the reſt of the Nation, if another had performed it: But when the Duke of *Marlborough* is the Author, when our Deliverance, I may call it, is owing to *his* Courage and *his* Conduct: When the *Engliſh* Honour is not only retrieved, but carried to ſo great a Height, I cannot but receive an *additional Pleaſure*, that it is *done by my Lord Duke.* I hope your Grace will forgive this overflowing of Joy, as an Inſtance of the Sincerity and Duty wherewith I ſhall always endeavour to diſtinguiſh myſelf,

Madam, your Grace's moſt humble
and moſt obedient Servant,

July 3. 1704. R. HARLEY.

My Lord, *May* 17. 1706.

YEſterday about Seven in the Evening, Col. *Richards* brought the moſt acceptable News of the glorious Succeſs your Grace had obtained in attacking the *French* Army; and at the ſame Time we are rejoicing for the Victory, we cannot (I mean every good *Engliſhman*) but be ſenſibly touched with the Danger all was in, by the hazard your Grace expoſed your own Perſon to; that Deliverance enhances the Value of the Victory, conſidering how dear it had like to have coſt us: Heaven

itſelf hath preſerved that precious Life, and would not ſuffer us to loſe your Grace, who was born for the Delivery of your own Country, and Reſcue of ſo many others from Tyranny and Oppreſſion. Your Grace does not only triumph over the publick Enemies, by teaching us how to conquer abroad, but you deliver us from ourſelves, and reſcue us from that Tyranny which each Party here would exerciſe upon one another: you have again diſarm'd Malice, and though your glorious Actions will encreaſe Envy, yet the Luſtre of what you have done will diſcover it, and conſequently render it impotent. May your Grace ſtill go on proſperouſly, the beſt General to the beſt Queen, and engaged in the beſt Cauſe; and may you live long to enjoy in Peace the Fruits of your innumerable Hazards and Toils.

I am with the greateſt Duty and Affection,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt humble,
and moſt obedient Servant,
Ro. Harley.

May 24, } 1706.
June 4, }

My Lord,

I Cannot tell where this Letter will find your Grace, the Improvements you make of your glorious Victory are ſo ſtupendous; you have united the Characters of *Scipio* and *Hannibal*; your Grace knows how to conquer, and how to improve a Victory to Admiration. Among the Letters which have fallen into my Hands, there is one to Mr. *D'Allegre* hath this Article, that the Elector of *Bavaria* had wrote to his Brother the Elector of *Cologne*, in theſe Terms. *Avec la plus belle armée et la plus floriſſante et animée j'ay etè battu, Dieu l'a voulu.* I hear from one I ſent to *Calais*, that after

ter the News of the Victory and the declaring of *Bruſſels*, the Mob of *Calais* were very troubleſome in the Town, and had your Grace's Name continually in their Mouths: We are aſſured that an Expreſs was ſent away *May* 25, N. S. to M. *Feuillade*, to offer the Duke of *Savoy* any Terms whatever. I doubt not but their Emiſſaries will be buſy alſo in *Holland* again, but I wrote laſt Poſt to Mr. *Buys*, to caution him upon that Subject, how neceſſary it was to be very vigilant, *&c.*

I am with the greateſt Duty and Affection,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt humble,

and moſt obedient Servant,

Ro. Harley.

May 28, } 1706.
June 8, }

My Lord,

I Received this Morning the Honour of your Grace's Letter of *June* 3, and cannot but obſerve, with the utmoſt Pleaſure and Satisfaction, the great and wonderful Succeſſes which attend every Day your Grace's prudent and moſt valiant Conduct. It is very true, that Victories have been obtain'd over potent and flouriſhing Armies formerly. Your Grace gave us two Years ſince a noble Inſtance of that, but give me leave to ſay, this is not only obtaining a Victory, but wearing of it too; this is improving your own Actions, and outdoing your own Victories, for nothing but you, Sir, can outdo my Lord *Marlborough*'s former Victories.

Your Proceedings are ſo ſwift that it is ſcarce poſſible with Thought to keep pace with them; therefore we can only here give Directions at random, *&c.*

I am

I am with the greateſt Duty and Affection,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt humble,
and moſt obedient Servant,
Ro. Harley.

May 31, } 1706.
My Lord, *June* 11, }

WHAT Succeſs, this fortunate raiſing of the Siege (of *Barcelona*) will have upon the Minds of the *Portugueſe* I cannot tell, all Sorts of People here are much exaſperated againſt them; and *Schonnenberg* now writes to his Maſters, that he ſuſpects ſome of thoſe Miniſters are in the Intereſt of *France*; and I believe all of them hope for a civil War in *Spain*, of which they will make their Markets. *But the glorious Things your Grace has done, puts an End to ſuch little Projects. Your Grace does all at once, and the Influence of it will be as extenſive as the Grandeur of the Action*, &c.

I am with the greateſt Duty and Affection,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt humble
and moſt obedient Servant,
Ro. Harley.

Thurſday, Auguſt 8, 1706.

Madam,

I Was juſt going to end this Trouble, when I was honoured with your Grace's Commands, which I ſhall apply myſelf to obey with all imaginable Chearfulneſs and Diligence. I cannot think of a Servant and a Spy, without the utmoſt Abhorrence, and particularly when I find it levelled at *your Grace's Family, to whom we all owe ſo much. I have been often provoked to ſee ſo much*

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publick and private Ingratitude exerciſed towards the Duke.

I ſhall not omit any Thing which may tend towards a Diſcovery of this Villany; and I will not put it into any one's Hands, but manage that myſelf. I beg your Grace will do me the Honour to believe me to be, with the utmoſt Duty,

Madam,

Your Grace's moſt humble,
and moſt obedient Servant,
Ro. Harley.

Is it not amazing, that a Perſon, who could thus extol the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Services to his Country, ſpeak of his Glory as beyond the Power of Envy or Malice to hurt it, and profeſs to feel ſuch *a peculiar Joy* in the Contemplation of it; is it not amazing, I ſay, that this very Perſon ſhould be, at the ſame Time, contriving how to ruin that glorious Man, in order to raiſe himſelf upon his Ruins? The Duke was too backward to believe him capable of ſuch Deſigns, tho' it is certain he never had entertained the ſame good Opinion of him, as my Lord *Godolphin* had, and tho', as one may collect from a Paragraph in a Letter of Mr. *Harley*'s, dated 25 *March* 1707. the Duke had been early warned of his Practices. The Paragraph contains theſe Words.

'I return your Grace moſt hearty and humble 'Thanks for the favourable Expreſſions in your 'Letter. I beg Leave to aſſure you, that *I ſerve* '*you by Inclination and Principle*, and a very little 'Time will make that manifeſt, as well as that *I* '*have no Views or Aims of my own.*'

The Conduct which Mr. *Harley* obſerved, after theſe Aſſurances, was ſo directly contrary to them, and became quickly ſo notorious, that my Lord

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Godolphin could not help repreſenting it to the Queen as of the utmoſt Prejudice to her Affairs: And when he found that her Majeſty *would believe nothing of it*, he went ſo far as to ſay, that if Mr. *Harley* continued to act the Part he did, and yet to have ſo much Credit with her, as he perceived he had, Lord *Marlborough* and himſelf muſt of Neceſſity quit her Service. The Queen appeared pretty much alarmed at this, and preſently wrote a Letter to me, in which were ſeveral Expreſſions of great Kindneſs.

Kenſington, Oct. 30th.

IF I have not anſwered all my dear Mrs. *Freeman*'s Letters (as indeed I ſhould have done) I beg ſhe would not impute it to any Thing but the Apprehenſions I was in of ſaying, what might add to the ill Impreſſions ſhe has had of me. For tho' I believe we are both of the ſame Opinion in the main, I have the Misfortune that I cannot agree exactly in every Thing, and therefore what I ſay is not thought to have the leaſt Colour of Reaſon in it, which makes me really not care to enter into Particulars; but though I am unwilling to do it, it is impoſſible for me to help giving you ſome Anſwer to your laſt Letter, in which I find you think me inſenſible of every Thing. I am very ſorry, you, who have known me ſo long, can give way to ſuch a Thought, as that I do not think the parting with my Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord Treaſurer of much Conſequence, becauſe I did not mention any Thing of my Lord *Marlborough*'s kind Letter concerning me. The Reaſon of that was, I really was in a great Hurry when I writ to you, and not having Time to write on that Subject to both, I thought it was the moſt neceſſary to endeavour to let him ſee he had no Reaſon to have Suſpicions, of any one's having Power with me, beſides himſelf

ſelf and my Lord Treaſurer, and I hope they will believe me.

Can dear Mrs. *Freeman* think that I can be ſo ſtupid, as not to be ſenſible of the great Services that my Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord Treaſurer have done me, nor of the great Misfortune it would be if ſhould they quit my Service? No, ſure, you cannot believe me to be ſo void of Senſe and Gratitude. I never did, nor never will give them any juſt Reaſon to forſake me; and they have too much Honour and too ſincere a Love for their Country to leave me without a Cauſe. And I beg you would not add that to my other Misfortunes, of puſhing them on to ſuch an unjuſt and unjuſtifiable Action. I think I had beſt ſay no more for Fear of being too troubleſome. But whatever becomes of me, I ſhall always preſerve a moſt ſincere and tender Paſſion for my dear Mrs. *Freeman* to my laſt Moment.

After my return to *London*, I had another kind Letter from her Majeſty in the following Terms.

Saturday Night.

MY dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I cannot go to Bed without renewing a Requeſt that I have often made, that you would baniſh all unkind and unjuſt Thoughts of your poor, unfortunate, faithful *Morley*, which I ſaw by the Glimpſe I had of you Yeſterday you were full of. Indeed I do not deſerve them, and if you could ſee my Heart, you would find it as ſincere, as tender, and paſſionately fond of you as ever, and *as truly ſenſible of your Kindneſs in telling me your Mind freely upon all Occaſions.* Nothing ſhall ever alter me. Though we have the Misfortune to differ in ſome Things, I will ever be the ſame to my dear dear Mrs. *Freeman*, who I do aſſure

once

once more, I am more tenderly and ſincerely hers than it is poſſible ever to expreſs.

I was every Day in Expectation of hearing from Mrs. *Maſham*, who, I ſuppoſed, would now endeavour to clear up what had created ſo much Uneaſineſs between us. But, to my great Surprize, I was twelve Days at St. *James*'s under the ſame Roof with her, before I had ſo much as any Meſſage from her. At length having one Night paſt by her Window in my return Home, ſhe ſent one of her Maids to my Woman to aſk *her* how I did, and to let me know that ſhe was gone to *Kenſington*. This Behaviour was ſo very ridiculous, that the next Time I ſaw the Queen I could not forbear ſpeaking of it, and at the ſame Time telling her all that had paſt between us. The Queen looked grave and ſaid, *ſhe was mightily in the Right not to come to me*. I anſwered that I did not underſtand *that*, ſince ſhe had expreſſed ſuch a Concern at my Diſpleaſure, and ſince the clearing up of Matters had been reſerved to our Meeting. The Queen replied, that *it was natural for her to be afraid to come to me, when ſhe ſaw I was angry with her*. To this I anſwered, that *ſhe could have no Reaſon to be afraid, unleſs ſhe knew herſelf guilty of ſome Crime*. It was the Queen's uſual Way on any Occaſion, where ſhe was predetermined (and my Lord *Marlborough* has told me that it was her Father's) to repeat over and over ſome principal Words ſhe had reſolved to uſe, and to ſtick firmly to them. She continued therefore to ſay, *it was very natural, and ſhe was very much in the right*. So that this Converſation with her Majeſty produced nothing but an undeniable Proof, that the new Favourite was deeply rooted in her Heart and Affections; and that it was thought more adviſable to let the Breach between me and Mrs. *Maſham* grow

wider and wider, than to uſe any Method to make it up.

But now within two Days, Mrs. *Maſham* contrived to make me a Viſit, when I was abroad. Upon obſerving this, and conſidering that our Meeting could be to no Purpoſe but to draw fruitleſs and falſe Profeſſions from her, I gave a general Order to my Servants to ſay, whenever ſhe ſhould call, that I was not at home. After ſome Time, it was thought proper that ſhe ſhould write to me, and deſire I would ſee her; to which I conſented, and appointed her a Time. When ſhe came, I began to tell her, *that it was very plain, the Queen was much changed towards me, and that I could not attribute this to any Thing but* her *ſecret Management; that I knew ſhe had been very frequently with* her Majeſty *in private, and that the very Attempt to conceal this, by Artifice, from ſuch a Friend as I had been to her, was alone a very ill Sign, and enough to prove a very bad Purpoſe at bottom.* To this ſhe very gravely anſwered, that *ſhe was ſure the* Queen, *who had loved me extremely, would always be very kind to me.* It was ſome Minutes before I could recover from the Surprize, with which ſo extraordinary an Anſwer ſtruck me. To ſee a Woman whom I had raiſed out of the Duſt, put on ſuch a ſuperior Air, and to hear her aſſure me, by way of Conſolation, *that the Queen would be always very kind to me!* At length I went on to reproach her with her Ingratitude and her ſecret Management with the *Queen* to undermine thoſe, who had ſo long, and with ſo much Honour ſerved *her Majeſty*. To this ſhe anſwered, *that ſhe never ſpoke to the* Queen *about Buſineſs, but that ſhe ſometimes gave her Petitions, which came to the Back-ſtairs, and with which ſhe knew I did not care to be troubled.* And with ſuch inſincere Anſwers ſhe thought to colour over the Matter,

while I knew for certain, ſhe had, before this, obtained Penſions for ſeveral of her Friends, and had frequently paid to others, out of the Privy-Purſe, Sums of Money, which the *Queen* had ordered me to bring her; and that ſhe was, every Day, long with *her Majeſty* in private.

But thus our Converſation ended, and when we had ſat awhile ſilent, ſhe roſe up and ſaid, *ſhe hoped I would give her Leave to come ſometimes and enquire after my Health*; which however, it is plain, ſhe did not deſign to do, for ſhe never once came near me after this. Notwithſtanding which, when ſhe owned her Marriage publickly, I went with Lady *Sunderland* to viſit her; not that I intended to have any further Intercourſe with her, or to diſſemble the ill Opinion I had of her (as I had fully reſolved to let her *then* know, in caſe I found an Opportunity of ſpeaking to her privately) but purely out of reſpect to the *Queen*, and to avoid any Noiſe or diſagreeable Diſcourſe, which my refuſing that ordinary Part of Civility might occaſion.

Not many Days after this, I went to pay my Reſpects to the *Queen* in the *Chriſtmas* Holidays, and before I went in, I learnt from the Page that Mrs. *Maſham* was juſt then ſent for. The Moment I ſaw *her Majeſty*, I plainly perceived ſhe was very uneaſy. She ſtood all the while I was with her, and looked as coldly upon me, as if her Intention was, that I ſhould no longer doubt of my Loſs of her Affections. Upon obſerving what Reception I had, I ſaid, *I was very ſorry I had happened to come ſo unſeaſonably.* I was making my Courteſy to go away, when the *Queen*, with a great deal of Diſorder in her Face, and without ſpeaking one Word, took me by the Hand: And, when thereupon I ſtooped to kiſs her's, ſhe took me up with a very cold Embrace, and then, without one kind Word,

let me go. So ſtrange a Treatment of me, after my long and faithful Services, and after ſuch repeated Aſſurances from *her Majeſty* of an unalterable Affection, made me think that I ought, in Juſtice to myſelf, as well as in regard to my Miſtreſs's Intereſt, to write to her in the plaineſt and ſincereſt Manner poſſible, and expoſtulate with her upon her Change to me and upon the new Counſels, by which ſhe ſeemed to be wholly governed. My Letter was in theſe Terms.

December the 27th, 1707.

IF Mrs. *Morley* will be ſo juſt as to reflect and examine impartially her laſt Reception of Mrs. *Freeman*, how very different from what it has been formerly, when you were glad to ſee her come in, and ſorry when ſhe went away; certainly you can't wonder at her Reproaches, upon an Embrace that ſeemed to have no Satisfaction in it, but that of getting rid of her, in order to enjoy the Converſation of one, that has the good Fortune to pleaſe you much better, though I am ſure no body did ever endeavour it with more Sincerity than Mrs. *Freeman* has done. And if I had conſidered only my Intereſt and that of my Family, I might have borne this Change without any Complaint. For I believe Mrs. *Morley* would be ſincere in doing us any Good. But I have once been honoured with an open, kind Confidence and Truſt, and that made all my Service agreeable; and it is not poſſible to loſe it without a Mortification too great to be paſſed with Silence, being ſure I have never done any Thing to forfeit it, having never betrayed nor abuſed that Confidence, by giving you a falſe Repreſentation of any body. My Temper is naturally plain and ſincere, and Mrs. *Morley* did like it for many Years. It is not in the leaſt altered.

But I can't help thinking thoſe Things reaſonable that appear to be ſo. And I appeal to God Almighty, that I never deſigned or purſued any Thing, but as I was thoroughly convinced it was for Mrs. *Morley*'s true Intereſt and Honour: And, I think, I may ſafely put it to that Trial, if any Thing has yet proved unſucceſsful, that was of any publick Conſequence, that Mrs. *Freeman* has been earneſt to perſuade Mrs. *Morley* to. And it is not poſſible for me to diſſemble ſo as to appear what I am not.

So much by way of Apology for what happened upon *Wedneſday* laſt. And if Mrs. *Morley* has any Remains of the Tenderneſs ſhe once profeſſed for her faithful *Freeman*, I would beg ſhe might be treated one of theſe two Ways, either with the Openneſs and Confidence of a Friend, as ſhe was for twenty Years; (for to pretend Kindneſs without Truſt and Openneſs of Heart is a Treatment for Children, not Friends;) or elſe in that Manner that is neceſſary for the Poſt ſhe is in, which unavoidably forces her to be often troubling Mrs. *Morley* upon the Account of others. And if ſhe pleaſes to chuſe which of theſe Ways, or any other ſhe likes to have Mrs. *Freeman* live in, ſhe promiſes to follow any Rule that is laid down that is poſſible, and is reſolved to her Life's End, and upon all Occaſions to ſhew, that Mrs. *Morley* never had a more faithful Servant.

My Lord *Marlborough* or my Lord *Godolphin* (I have forgot which) carried my Letter. The Queen took no Notice of it to either of theſe Lords. But ſome Days after ſhe wrote me an Anſwer, in which ſhe very much ſoftened what had paſt. I was much pleaſed to find her Majeſty in that Diſpoſi-

tion;

tion; and once more put on as eaſy an Appearance as I could.

But in a very ſhort Time after this, the great Breach at Court became publick. Lord *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin* had often told the Queen in the moſt reſpectful Manner, that it was impoſſible for them to do her any Service, while Mr. *Harley* was in her Confidence. Her Majeſty nevertheleſs ſeemed determined not to part with him; till at length thoſe two Lords, being urged by Neceſſity to it, declared their Reſolution to ſerve no longer with him, and they abſented themſelves from the Council. Mr. *Harley* would have proceeded to Buſineſs without them when the Council met, but the Duke of *Somerſet* ſaid, he did not ſee how it could be to any Purpoſe, when neither the General nor the Treaſurer was preſent; whereupon the Council immediately broke up. This had ſuch an Effect upon the Queen, that, very ſoon after, Mr. *Harley* was diſmiſſed from his Poſt.

Such a Compliance with the Miniſters ſeemed to the Eyes of the World a very great Conceſſion, but was in Truth nothing. For it was evident by what followed, that this Appearance of giving up Mr. *Harley* was with his own Conſent, and by his own Advice, who, as long as Mrs. *Maſham* continued in Favour, would, under Pretence of viſiting her, (who was his Couſin) have all the Opportunities he could wiſh for, of practiſing upon the Paſſions and Credulity of the Queen; and the Method of correſponding with him had been ſettled ſome Time before; I was fully apprized of all this; yet I reſolved to try, if by being eaſy and quiet I could regain any Influence with her Majeſty. She had given me ſome Encouragement to hope it. For when, a little before Mr. *Harley*'s Diſmiſſion, Lord *Marlborough* reſolved

reſolved to quit the Service, and when on that Occaſion I had with Tears (which a tender Concern at the Thoughts of parting from her Majeſty made me ſhed) repreſented to her, that if the Duke retired, it would be improper, and even impoſſible, for me to ſtay at Court after him, ſhe declared, *that ſhe could not bear the Thought of my leaving her, and that it muſt never be.* And at that Time ſhe made a Promiſe that if ever I ſhould leave her, *(which* ſhe again ſaid *muſt never be)* ſhe would beſtow my Offices among my Children.

Nay, the Whigs had ſome Reaſon to flatter themſelves about this Time, that her Majeſty would become better diſpoſed to them, than ſhe had hitherto been.

The Pretender's Attempt to land in *Scotland*, which happened about this Time, gave her an Alarm, that ſeemed to bring a Conviction along with it, *that the Whigs were the moſt to be depended upon for the Support of her Government*; at leaſt what ſhe ſaid in her Anſwer to the Lords Addreſs, upon the Occaſion, had this Appearance. But as the Danger preſently blew over, and as her Fears ceaſed with the Cauſe of them, ſo all the Hope which the Whigs had raiſed in themſelves from thoſe Fears, preſently vaniſhed.

However, by the Manner in which her Majeſty wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough*, in a Letter dated *May* 6, 1708. ſhe ſeems ſtill to have retained a great Degree of Regard for him. After complaining to him of being ſo tired, that Day, with Importunities from Whigs, that ſhe had not Spirits left to open her afflicted Heart ſo freely and fully as ſhe intended, ſhe goes on to ſay, ſhe is entirely of his Opinion, thinking it neither for her Honour nor Intereſt to make Steps (meaning the firſt Steps) towards a Peace, as the Duke had been preſſed to

do

do abroad; and aſſures him, that whatever Inſinuations her Enemies might make to the contrary, ſhe would never give her Conſent to a Peace, but upon ſafe and honourable Terms. She begs the Duke to be ſo juſt to her, as not to let the Miſrepreſentations, made of her, have any Weight with him: Adding, that it would be a greater Trouble to her than could be expreſſed, and concludes with theſe Words,——'I cannot end without begging you to be very careful of yourſelf, there being no body, I am ſure, that prays more heartily than her, who will live and die moſt ſincerely yours, *&c.*

The Campaign of 1708. proved very glorious to the Duke of *Marlborough* by the Victory at *Oudenarde*, the taking of *Liſle*, and the ſaving of *Bruſſels*.

Her Majeſty, on occaſion of the Victory, wrote the following Letter to him.

Windſor, July the 6th, 1708.

I Want Words to expreſs the Joy I have that you are well, after your glorious Succeſs; for which, next to God Almighty, my Thanks are due to you. And indeed I can never ſay enough for all the great and faithful Services you have ever done me. But be ſo juſt as to believe, I am as truly ſenſible of them as a grateful Heart can be, and ſhall be ready to ſhow it upon all Occaſions. I hope you cannot doubt of my Eſteem and Friendſhip for you, nor think that becauſe I differ with you in ſome Things, it is for want of either: No, I do aſſure you. If you were here, I am ſure you would not think me ſo much in the wrong in ſome Things, as I fear you do now. I am afraid my Letter ſhould come too late to *London*, and therefore dare ſay no more, but that I pray God Almighty to continue

tinue his Protection over you, and ſend you ſafe home again. And be aſſured I ſhall ever be ſincerely your

Humble Servant.

To this the Duke anſwered,

July 23, 1708.

Madam,

I Have the Honour of your Majeſty's Letter of the 6th, and am very thankful for all your Goodneſs to me. And I am ſure it will always be my Intention, as well as Duty, to be ready to venture my Life for your Service.

As I have formerly told your Majeſty that I am deſirous to ſerve you in the Army, but not as a Miniſter, I am every Day more and more confirmed in that Opinion. And I think myſelf obliged upon all Accounts, on this Occaſion, to ſpeak my Mind freely to you. The Circumſtances in this laſt Battle, I think, ſhew the Hand of God; for we were obliged not only to march five Leagues that Morning, but to paſs a River before the Enemy, and to engage them before the whole Army was paſſed, which was a viſible Mark of the Favour of Heaven to you and your Arms.

Your Majeſty ſhall be convinced from this Time, that I have no Ambition, or any Thing to ask for myſelf or Family. But I will end the few Years which I have to live in endeavouring to ſerve you, and to give God Almighty Thanks for his infinite Goodneſs to me. But as I have taken this Reſolution to myſelf, give me Leave to ſay, that I think you are obliged in Conſcience, and as a good Chriſtian, to forgive, and to have no more Reſentments to any particular Perſon or Party, but to make uſe of ſuch as will carry on this juſt War with Vigour; which

which is the only Way to preſerve our Religion and Liberties, and the Crown on your Head. Which that you may long enjoy, and be a Bleſſing to your People, ſhall be the conſtant Wiſh and Prayer of him, that is with the greateſt Truth and Duty,

Madam, &c.

But now, what was very ſtrange, the Succeſſes of my Lord *Marlborough* this Year ſeem'd rather to lower his Credit with her Majeſty, than to raiſe it; a Thing ſo extremely out of the common Courſe of Nature, that no one, I think, can doubt of its being the pure Effect of Art, the Product of that wonderful Talent Mr. *Harley* poſſeſſed, in the ſupreme Degree, of confounding the common Senſe of Mankind.

The Duke was perfectly ſenſible of the Change in her Majeſty towards him, and having complain'd of it in a Letter to me, I ſent this Letter to her, incloſed in the following one from myſelf.

I Cannot help ſending your Majeſty this Letter, to ſhew how exactly Lord *Marlborough* agrees with me in my Opinion, that he has now no Intereſt with you: Though when I ſaid ſo in the Church on * *Thurſday*, you were pleaſed to ſay it was untrue. And yet I think he will be ſurprized to hear that when I had taken ſo much Pains to put your Jewels in a way that I thought you would like, Mrs. *Maſham* could make you refuſe to wear them, in ſo unkind a Manner; becauſe that was a Power ſhe had not thought fit to exerciſe before. I will make no Reflections upon it; only that I muſt needs obſerve, that your Majeſty choſe a very wrong Day to mortify me, when you were juſt

* 19 *Aug.* 1708.

going to return Thanks for a Victory obtained by Lord *Marlborough.*

In Anſwer to this, her Majeſty was pleaſed to write to me theſe few Words.

Sunday.

AFter the *Commands* you gave me on the Thankſgiving Day of not anſwering you, I ſhould not have troubled you with theſe Lines, but to return the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Letter ſafe into your Hands, and for the ſame Reaſon do not ſay any Thing to that, nor to yours which encloſed it.

Upon receiving ſo extraordinary a Letter, I could not avoid writing again as follows.

I Should not trouble your Majeſty with any Anſwer to your laſt ſhort Letter, but to explain what you ſeem to miſtake in what I ſaid at Church. I deſired you not to anſwer me there for fear of being overheard. And this you interpret as if I had deſired you not to anſwer me at all; which was far from my Intention. For the whole end of my writing to you ſo often, was to get your Anſwer to ſeveral Things in which we differed, that if I was in the Wrong, you might convince me of it, and I ſhould very readily have owned my Miſtakes. But ſince you have not been pleaſed to ſhow them to me, I flatter myſelf that I have ſaid ſeveral Things to you that are unanſwerable. And I hope ſome time or other you will find Leiſure to reflect upon them, and will convince Lord *Marlborough*, that he is miſtaken in thinking that he has no Credit with you, by hearkening ſometimes to his Advice; and then I hope you will never more be troubled with diſagreeable Letters from me: For I ſhould be much better pleaſed to ſay and

do

do every Thing you like. But I ſhould think myſelf wanting in my Duty to you, if I ſaw you ſo much in the wrong, as without Prejudice or Paſſion, I really think you are in ſeveral Particulars I have mentioned, and did not tell you of it. And the rather becauſe no body elſe cares to ſpeak out upon ſo ungrateful a Subject. The Word *command*, which you uſe at the Beginning of your Letter, is very unfitly ſuppoſed to come from me. For tho' I have always writ to you as a Friend, and lived with you as ſuch for ſo many Years with all the Truth and Honeſty and Zeal for your Service that was poſſible, yet I ſhall never forget that I am your Subject, nor ceaſe to be a faithful one.

Thro' the whole Summer after Mr. *Harley*'s Diſmiſſion, the Queen continued to have ſecret Correſpondence with him. And that this might be the better managed, ſhe ſtaid all the ſultry Seaſon, even when the Prince was panting for Breath, in that ſmall Houſe, ſhe had formerly purchaſed at *Windſor*, which, though as hot as an Oven, was then ſaid to be cool, becauſe from the Park ſuch Perſons, as Mrs. *Maſham* had a Mind to bring to her Majeſty, could be let in privately by the Garden.

And when upon the Death of the Prince, one would have thought that her Majeſty's real Grief would have made her avoid every Place and every Object that might ſenſibly revive the Remembrance of her Loſs, ſhe choſe for her Place of Retirement his Cloſet, and for ſome Weeks, ſpent many Hours in it every Day. I was amazed at this; and when I ſpoke to her of it, ſhe ſeemed ſurpriſed, juſt like a Perſon who on a ſudden becomes ſenſible of her having done ſomething ſhe would not have done, had ſhe duly conſider'd. But the true

Reaſon of her Majeſty's chuſing this Cloſet to ſit in, was, that the Back-ſtairs belonging to it came from Mrs. *Maſham*'s Lodgings, who by that Means could ſecretly bring to her whom ſhe pleaſed.

And that a Correſpondence was thus carried on with Mr. *Harley*, became every Day more and more manifeſt by the Difficulties and Objections which her Majeſty had learnt to raiſe againſt almoſt every Thing propoſed by her Miniſters. Nay, it is well known, that Mr. *Harley* and his Aſſociates, when at length they had compaſſed their Deſigns, and got into the Management of Affairs, did often (both in their Cups and out of them) boaſt that they, while the Queen's Miniſters were aſleep, were frequently at Court giving Advice in ſecret, how to perplex them in all their Meaſures.

But they were much miſtaken, if they imagined that their Proceedings at the Time I am ſpeaking of, were ſo entirely covered. The Miniſters were fully convinced of the Truth, and frequently repreſented to her Majeſty, what a Diſcouragement it was to them in their Endeavours for her Service, to find that ſhe had no Confidence in them, but was influenced by the Counſel of others who counterworked them in every Inſtance. Upon this Subject, I myſelf wrote and ſpoke a great deal to her with my uſual Plainneſs and Zeal. But finding, not only that I could make no Impreſſion on her in this Reſpect, but that her Change towards *me* in particular was every Day more and more apparent, I at length went to her, and beg'd to know what my Crime was, that had wrought in her ſo great an Alteration. This drew from the Queen a Letter, dated *October* 26, 1709. wherein ſhe charges me *with Inveteracy* (as her Word is) *againſt poor* Maſham, and *with having nothing ſo much at Heart as the Ruin of my Couſin.* In ſpeaking of the Miſ-

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underſtandings betwixt her Majeſty and me, ſhe ſays, they *are for nothing that ſhe knows of, but becauſe ſhe cannot ſee with my Eyes, and hear with my Ears.* And adds, *that it is impoſſible for me to recover her former Kindneſs, but that ſhe ſhall behave herſelf to me, as the Duke of* Marlborough's *Wife, and her Groom of the Stole.* This Declaration ſo plain and expreſs of her Majeſty's thorough Change towards me, was the more extraordinary, as in this ſame Letter are theſe Words, *you have aſked me once or twice if you had committed any Fault that I was ſo changed, and I told you, No; becauſe I do not think it a Crime in any one not to be of my Mind.*

Upon Receipt of this Letter, I immediately ſet myſelf to draw up a long Narrative of a Series of faithful Services for about 26 Years paſt; of the great Senſe the Queen formerly had of my Services; of the great Favour I had been honour'd with on account of them; of the Uſe I had made of that Favour; and of my loſing it now by the Artifice of my Enemies, and particularly of one, whom I had raiſed out of the Duſt. And knowing how great a Reſpect her Majeſty had for the Writings of certain eminent Divines, I added to my Narrative, the Directions given by the Author of the *Whole Duty of Man* with relation to Friendſhip; the Directions in the *Common Prayer Book* before the Communion with regard to Reconciliation, together with the Rules laid down by Biſhop *Taylor* upon the ſame Head; and I concluded with giving my Word to her Majeſty, that if after reading theſe, ſhe would pleaſe only to anſwer in two Words, that ſhe was ſtill of the ſame Opinion, as when ſhe wrote that harſh Letter, which occaſion'd her this Trouble, I would never more give her the leaſt Trouble upon any Subject, but the Buſineſs of my Office, as long as I ſhould have the Honour to con-

continue her Servant; aſſuring her, that however ſhe might be changed towards me, and how much ſoever we might ſtill differ in Opinion, I ſhould ever remember that ſhe was my Miſtreſs and my Queen, and ſhould always pay her the Reſpect due from a faithful Servant and dutiful Subject.

I ſent from *St. Alban's* this Narrative, which ſhe promiſed to read and anſwer. And ten Days after, writing to me upon another Occaſion, ſhe ſaid ſhe had not Leiſure yet to read all my Papers, but when ſhe had, ſhe would ſend me ſome Anſwer. But none ever came; nor had my Papers any apparent Effect on her Majeſty, except that, after my coming to Town, as ſhe was paſſing by me, in order to receive the Communion, ſhe look'd with much good Nature and very graciouſly ſmiled upon me. But the Smile and pleaſant Look I had Reaſon afterwards to think were given to Biſhop *Taylor* and the *Common Prayer Book*, and not to me.

In the Beginning of *January*, 1709-10, the Earl of *Eſſex* died; and the Queen preſently wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough* to give his Regiment to Mr. *Hill*, a Man who had been baſely ungrateful to me who raiſed him; and whoſe Siſter, Mrs. *Maſham*, the Duke well knew was at this Time undermining the Intereſt of himſelf, his Family and Friends.

The Scheme of the Queen's new Counſellors to make her Miniſters quit her Service, or engage her to diſcard them, began now to appear without Diſguiſe. They durſt not tell her Majeſty at once all they deſigned, but, propoſing to her only one Thing at a Time, led her by inſenſible Degrees to the Accompliſhment of the whole. They began, as I before obſerv'd, with engaging her to nominate Perſons to Biſhopricks without conſulting her Miniſters.

ſters. And now they prevail'd upon her to appoint military Officers, without adviſing with her General. And nothing could be more to their Purpoſe, than this Choice of Mr. *Hill* for Lord *Eſſex*'s Regiment, becauſe they knew that nothing could be more diſagreeable to the Duke of *Marlborough*, or would tend more to leſſen his Weight and Authority in the Army, and conſequently at home too. The new Counſellors ſaw that if the Duke readily yielded in this Matter, it would ſow Diſcontent among the Officers, and that a Door would be opened for his Enemies to come into the Army and inſult him. And on the other hand, if the Duke ſhould not comply, or ſhow any Reluctance in complying, this would furniſh an excellent Pretence for grievous Complaints and Outcries, *that the Queen was but a Cypher and could do nothing.* It was indeed by repreſenting her to herſelf, as a Slave to the *Marlborough* Family, that they work'd upon her Paſſions; while at the ſame time (as is too evident) they meant to make her in reality *their* Slave, to do for them thoſe Drudgeries that would diſhonour her inſtead of following the Counſels of Miniſters, whoſe Fidelity ſhe had experienced, and who had carry'd her Glory to the higheſt Pitch.

Upon this Meſſage from the Queen, the Duke waited upon her, and with all Humility repreſented to her, what a Prejudice it would be to her Service, to have ſo young an Officer preferred before ſo many others of higher Rank and longer Service. Beſides, that the ſhewing ſo extraordinary and partial Favour to Mrs. *Maſham*'s Brother, could be interpreted no otherwiſe than as a declaring againſt all thoſe who had ſo much Reaſon to be uneaſy with her; and that indeed it would be ſetting up a Banner for all the diſcontented Perſons

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in the Army to repair to. In ſhort, the Duke ſaid every Thing he could think of, and with all the moving Concern that the Nature of the Affair created in him, to engage her Majeſty to change her Reſolution. But all ſeemed to no purpoſe. He could not draw one kind Expreſſion from her, nor obtain any Anſwer, but *that he would do well to adviſe with his Friends.*

Lord *Godolphin* ſpoke often to her upon the ſame Subject, repreſenting to her the Duke's long, great, and faithful Services, and the very bad Influence which her intended Favour to Mr. *Hill* muſt neceſſarily have in the Army. But neither had this ſo much Effect as to engage her to ſay one favourable Word about the Duke. On the 15th of *January* therefore he left the Town and went to *Windſor* in great Diſcontent. It was Council-day. The Queen did not aſk where he was, nor take the leaſt Notice of his Abſence. His withdrawing himſelf made a great Noiſe in the Town. Many of the Nobility ſpoke with Earneſtneſs to the Queen of the very ill Conſequences of mortifying a Man, who had done her ſo long and important Services. Her Majeſty anſwered, that his Services were ſtill freſh in her Memory, and that ſhe had as much Kindneſs for him as ever ſhe had. The Noiſe however ſtill continued and increaſed, and there was great Diſcourſe, not without probability, that ſome Notice would be taken of the Matter in the Houſe of Commons, and ſome Votes paſt diſagreeable to her Majeſty and her new Counſellors. This Deſign was laid to my Charge, but I ſaid enough to the Queen to vindicate myſelf from it. And it was indeed owing to the Duke's particular Friends in the Houſe, that no ſuch Notice was taken.

The new Counſellors being alarm'd with Apprehenſions of what the Parliament might do, and

believing that they ſhould be able at a proper Seaſon to make better Uſe of the Queen's yielding up the Point, than of her inſiſting upon it, gave her Advice accordingly: So that *January* the 20th, ſhe order'd Lord *Godolphin* to write to the Duke, *that he might diſpoſe of the Regiment as he himſelf thought fit:* And to deſire him to come to Town. But before this reached Lord *Marlborough*, he had written the following Letter to the Queen.

Madam,

BY what I hear from *London*, I find your Majeſty is pleaſed to think, that when I have reflected, I muſt be of Opinion, that you are in the Right in giving Mr. *Hill* the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Regiment. I beg your Majeſty will be ſo juſt to me, as not to think I can be ſo unreaſonable, as to be mortified to the Degree that I am, if it proceeded only from this one Thing; for I ſhall always be ready and glad to do every Thing that is agreeable to you, after I have repreſented what may be a Prejudice to your Service. But this is only one of a great many Mortifications, that I have met with. And as I may not have many Opportunities of writing to you, let me beg of your Majeſty to reflect what your own People, and the reſt of the World muſt think, who have been Witneſſes of the Love, Zeal and Duty, with which I have ſerved you, when they ſhall ſee that after all I have done, it has not been able to protect me againſt the Malice of a Bed-chamber Woman. Your Majeſty will allow me on this Occaſion to remind you of what I writ to you the laſt Campaign, of the certain Knowledge I had of Mrs. *Maſham*'s having aſſured Mr. *Harley*, that I ſhould receive ſuch conſtant Mortifications, as ſhould make it impoſſible

for me to continue in your Service. God Almighty and the whole World are my Witneſſes, with what Care and Pains I have ſerved you for more than twenty Years, and I was reſolved, if poſſible, to have ſtruggled with the Difficulties to the End of this War. But the many Inſtances I have had of your Majeſty's great Change to me, has ſo broke my Spirits, that I muſt beg as the greateſt and laſt Favour, that you will approve of my retiring, ſo that I may employ the little Time I have to live, in making my juſt Acknowledgments to God, for the Protection he has been pleaſed to give me. And your Majeſty may be aſſured that my Zeal for you and my Country is ſo great, that in my Retirement I ſhall daily pray for your Proſperity, and that thoſe, who ſhall ſerve you as faithfully as I have done, may never feel the hard Return that I have met with.

The Queen wrote him an Anſwer, expreſſing ſome Concern at ſeveral Parts of his Letter, aſſuring him, without entring into Particulars, that he had no Ground for Suſpicions, and deſiring him to come to Town.

But fearing at the ſame Time that ſome Motion might be made in Parliament againſt Mrs. *Maſham*, which might be attended with very diſagreeable Conſequences, ſhe ſent about in much Concern, to many Perſons to ſtand by her, as if ſome great Attack were going to be made upon her. This Application and the cloſetting ſome Perſons, who were known Enemies to the Revolution, gave Encouragement to the Jacobites; ſeveral of whom were now obſerved running to Court with Faces full of Buſineſs and Satisfaction, as if they were going to get the Government into their Hands. And this being repreſented to the Queen, as a kind of Victory

tory gained by her over the *Marlborough* Family, was doubtleſs one Means of hindering all Thoughts of a real Accommodation.

In about a Month after this, both Houſes of Parliament addreſſed the Queen, to order the Duke of *Marlborough* over into *Holland*, to attend to the great Affair of a Peace, (towards which there were then ſome Overtures) and in caſe that Project did not take Effect, to prepare for an early opening the Campaign.

The Queen in her Anſwer to that Addreſs uſed theſe Words.——'I am very glad to find by this 'Addreſs, that you concur with me in a juſt Senſe 'of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s eminent Services.

But notwithſtanding this, he had not been long gone, before her Majeſty gave a ſignal Proof how much his declared Enemies were in her Favour, by granting Mr. *Hill* a Penſion of 1000 *l.* a Year. (And in ſome Time, ſhe made both him and Mr. *Maſham* (Men of little or no Service) general Officers, over the Heads of many brave Men, who had frequently hazarded their Lives in her Service, and had gone through the Toils and Hardſhips of a tedious War.)

In the mean Time, as to myſelf, I learnt that the Queen was made to believe, that I often ſpoke of her in Company diſreſpectfully. As I knew myſelf wholly free from the Guilt of this Charge, and indeed incapable of it, I waited on her Majeſty the 3d of *April* 1710, and begged of her that ſhe would be pleaſed to give me a private Hour, becauſe I had ſomething which I was very deſirous of ſaying to her Majeſty, before I went out of Town. I named three ſeveral Hours, in which I knew the Queen uſed to be alone, but ſhe refuſed them all, in a very unuſual and ſurprizing Manner: And at laſt ſhe herſelf appointed 6 o'Clock the next Day,

the Hour for Prayers, when ſhe could leaſt of all expect to be at Leiſure for any particular Converſation. But even this ſmall Favour, though promiſed, was not thought adviſable to be granted by her new Counſellors. For, that Night, ſhe wrote a Letter to me, in which ſhe deſired me *to lay before her in Writing whatever I had to ſay, and to gratify myſelf in going into the Country as ſoon as I could.* I took the firſt Opportunity of waiting upon the Queen again, and uſed all the Arguments I could to obtain a private Hour; alledging, that when her Majeſty ſhould hear what I had to ſay, ſhe would herſelf perceive it impoſſible to put Things of that Nature into Writing; that I was now going out of Town for a great while, and perhaps ſhould never have Occaſion to give her a like Trouble as long as I lived. The Queen refuſed it ſeveral Times in a Manner hard to be deſcribed, but at laſt appointed the next Day after Dinner. Yet upon farther Conſideration it was thought adviſeable to break this Appointment; for, the next Morning, ſhe wrote to me to let me know, *that ſhe ſhould dine at* Kenſington, *and that ſhe once more deſired me to put my Thoughts into Writing.*

To this I wrote an Anſwer, begging that her Majeſty would give me Leave to follow her to *Kenſington*; and, that ſhe might not apprehend a greater Trouble than ſhe would receive, I aſſured her Majeſty, that what I had to ſay, would not create any Diſpute or Uneaſineſs, (it relating only to the clearing myſelf from ſome Things which, I had heard, had very wrongfully been laid to my Charge) and could have no Conſequence, either in obliging her Majeſty to anſwer, or to ſee me oftner than would be eaſy to her: Adding, that if that Afternoon were not convenient, I would come

every Day and wait till her Majeſty would pleaſe to allow me to ſpeak to her. Upon the Sixth of *April* I followed this Letter to *Kenſington*, and by that Means prevented the Queen's Writing again to me, as ſhe was preparing to do. The Page who went in to acquaint the Queen, that I was come to wait upon her, ſtaid longer than uſual; long enough, it is to be ſuppoſed, to give Time to deliberate whether the Favour of Admiſſion ſhould be granted, and to ſettle the Meaſures of Behaviour if I were admitted. But at laſt he came out, and told me I might go in. As I was entring, the Queen ſaid ſhe was juſt going to write to me. And, when I began to ſpeak, ſhe interrupted me four or five Times with theſe repeated Words; '*Whatever you have to ſay, you may put it in Wri-*'*ting.*' I ſaid, her Majeſty never did ſo hard a Thing to any, as to refuſe to hear them ſpeak; and aſſured her, that I was not going to trouble her upon the Subject which I knew to be ſo ungrateful to her, but that I could not poſſibly reſt, till I had cleared myſelf from ſome particular Calumnies with which I had been loaded. I then went on to ſpeak (though the Queen turned away her Face from me) and to repreſent my hard Caſe; that there were thoſe about her Majeſty, who had made her believe that I had ſaid Things of her, which I was no more capable of ſaying than of killing my own Children; that I ſeldom named her Majeſty in Company, and never without Reſpect, and the like. The Queen ſaid, *without Doubt there were many Lies told.* I then begged, in order to make this Trouble the ſhorter, and my own Innocence the plainer, that I might know the Particulars of which I had been accuſed. Becauſe, if I were guilty, that would quickly appear; and if I were innocent, this Method only would clear

me.

me. The Queen replied, that *ſhe would give me no Anſwer*; laying hold on a Word in my Letter, that what I had to ſay in my own Vindication, *would have no Conſequence in obliging her Majeſty to anſwer*, &c. which ſurely did not at all imply, that I did not deſire to know the particular Things laid to my Charge, without which it was impoſſible for me to clear myſelf. This I aſſured her Majeſty was all I deſired, and that *I did not aſk the Names of the Authors or Relators of thoſe Calumnies*; ſaying all that I could think reaſonable, to enforce my juſt Requeſt. But the Queen repeated again and again the Words ſhe had uſed, without ever receding. And it is probable that this Converſation had never been conſented to, but that her Majeſty had been carefully provided with thoſe Words, as a Shield to defend her againſt every Reaſon I could offer. I proteſted to her Majeſty, that I had no Deſign in giving her this Trouble, to ſollicit the Return of her Favour, but that my ſole View was to clear myſelf; which was too juſt a Deſign to be wholly diſappointed by her Majeſty. Upon this, the Queen offered to go out of the Room, I following her, and begging Leave to clear myſelf; and the Queen repeating over and over again, *You deſired no Anſwer, and ſhall have none.* When ſhe came to the Door, I fell into great Diſorders; Streams of Tears flow'd down againſt my Will, and prevented my Speaking for ſome Time. At length I recover'd myſelf, and appealed to the Queen, in the Vehemence of my Concern, whether I might not ſtill have been happy in her Majeſty's Favour, if I could have contradicted or diſſembled my real Opinion of Men, or Things? Whether I had ever, during our long Friendſhip, told her one Lye, or play'd the Hypocrite once? Whether I had offended in any thing,

thing, unleſs in a very zealous preſſing upon her, that which I thought neceſſary for her Service and Security? I then ſaid I was informed by a very reaſonable and credible Perſon about the Court, that Things were laid to my Charge, of which I was wholly incapable; that this Perſon knew that ſuch Stories were perpetually told to her Majeſty to incenſe her, and had begg'd of me to come and vindicate myſelf; that the ſame Perſon had thought me of late guilty of ſome Omiſſions towards her Majeſty, being entirely ignorant how uneaſy to her my frequent Attendance muſt be, after what had happened between us. I explained ſome Things which I had heard her Majeſty had taken amiſs of me, and then with a freſh Flood of Tears, and a Concern ſufficient to move Compaſſion, even where all Love was abſent, I begged to know what other Particulars ſhe had heard of me, that I might not be denied all Power of juſtifying myſelf. But ſtill the only Return was, *You deſired no Anſwer, and you ſhall have none.* I then begged to know if her Majeſty would tell me ſome other Time? —*You deſired no Anſwer, and you ſhall have none.* I then appealed to her Majeſty again, if ſhe did not herſelf know that I had often deſpiſed Intereſt in Compariſon of ſerving her faithfully and doing Right? And whether ſhe did not know me to be of a Temper incapable of diſowning any thing which I knew to be true? —*You deſired no Anſwer, and you ſhall have none.* This Uſage was ſo ſevere, and theſe Words, ſo often repeated, were ſo ſhocking (being an utter Denial of common Juſtice to one who had been a moſt faithful Servant, and now aſked nothing more) that I could not conquer myſelf, but ſaid the moſt diſreſpectful Thing I ever ſpoke to the Queen in my Life, and yet, what ſuch an Occaſion and ſuch Circumſtances might well excuſe, if not juſtify.

ſtify. And that was, that *I was confident her Majeſty would ſuffer for ſuch an Inſtance of Inhumanity.* The Queen anſwer'd, *That will be to myſelf.* Thus ended this remarkable Converſation, the laſt I ever had with her Majeſty. I ſhall make no Comment upon it. The Queen always meant well, how much ſoever ſhe might be blinded or miſguided. But in a Letter, which I had from the Duke of *Marlborough*, about eight Months before, there is ſomething ſo pertinent to the preſent Occaſion, that I cannot forbear tranſcribing the Paſſage.

Aug. 26, 1709.

—IT has always been my Obſervation in Diſputes, eſpecially in that of Kindneſs and Friendſhip, that all Reproaches, though ever ſo juſt, ſerve to no End but making the Breach wider. I cannot help being of Opinion, that however inſignificant we may be, there is a Power above, that puts a Period to our Happineſs or Unhappineſs. If any Body had told me, eight Years ago, that after ſuch great Succeſs, and after you had been a faithful Servant 27 Years, that even in the Queen's Life-time, we ſhould be obliged to ſeek Happineſs in a retired Life, I could not have believed that poſſible.

I never ſaw the Queen after the Interview I have been ſpeaking of, nor ever had any Correſpondence with her, except on two Occaſions relating to the Publick, one of which I ſhall now mention, becauſe it was the very next Day after our Parting. I received a Letter from Lord *Marlborough*, with one encloſed to Lord *Godolphin*, who was then at *Newmarket*, and whoſe Letters, at ſuch Times, and when Diſpatch was required, I had the Privilege to open. In this Letter the Duke gave

gave Lord *Godolphin* an Account of a Man then coming to *England*, who, as Prince *Eugene* informed him, had been guilty of many vile Practices at *Vienna*, and was a very great Villain, deſiring that he might not be admitted to ſee the Queen, but be immediately ſent out of *England*. Hereupon I wrote a Letter to her Majeſty, in which, after ſaying that I thought it my Duty to impart to her without Delay what ſo nearly concerned her, I added, that I could not forbear taking Notice of the Uſage I had met with, the Day before, when I waited upon her; and when my only Buſineſs was to beg to be heard on a Point that touched me very ſenſibly, in order to clear myſelf from what had been laid to my Charge, if I were innocent; or to beg Pardon, if in any thing I had done amiſs.

All the Anſwer I received to this Letter was in theſe few Words, dated from *Kenſington*.

I Received yours, with one encloſed from the D. of *M.* to Lord Treaſurer, juſt as I was coming down Stairs from St. *James*'s, ſo could not return the encloſed back, till I came to this Place.

But notwithſtanding this thorough Alienation of the Queen's Affections from me, I was not yet diveſted of my Employments. Perhaps it was not yet determined who ſhould ſucceed me, nor whether it were proper, that Lord *Marlborough* ſhould have that Mortification, before the Seaſon was fully ripe for the Execution of the new Scheme. Matters had been greatly advanced towards Maturity by the Buſineſs of *Sacheverel*, which had engaged the Attention of the Nation for the greater Part of the laſt Winter. Every Body knows that

whole Story, and the terrible Cry that was raiſed about the Danger of the Church, from the Attempt that was made, in a parliamentary Way, to puniſh an ignorant, impudent Incendiary, a Man who was the Scorn even of thoſe, who made uſe of him as a Tool. I ſhall only obſerve that the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, who had voted for the Acquittal of that ſcurrilous Declaimer againſt the Queen's Miniſters, was, in about three Weeks after, appointed Lord Chamberlain by her Majeſty.

When the Queen had reſolved to make this Step, ſhe thought fit to write to my Lord *Godolphin*, then at *Newmarket*, to acquaint him with her Reſolution, and that ſhe hoped ſhe ſhould have his Approbation in this and all her Actions. The Anſwer which he return'd to her Majeſty is ſo great a Proof of his honeſt Heart and clear Underſtanding, and of the Injuſtice of thoſe Whigs, who did not ſcruple to call in queſtion his Zeal and even his Sincerity in their Cauſe, that I think it is but diſcharging a Debt I owe to his Memory, to give a Copy of his Letter.

Newmarket, April 15, 1710.

I Have the Honour of your Majeſty's Letter of the 13th, by which I have the Grief to find that what you are pleaſed to call Spleen in my former Letter, was only a true Impulſe and Conviction of Mind, that your Majeſty is ſuffering yourſelf to be guided to your own Ruin and Deſtruction as faſt as it is poſſible for them to compaſs it, to whom you ſeem ſo much to hearken.

I am not therefore ſo much ſurprized, as concerned at the Reſolution which your Majeſty ſays you have taken, of bringing in the Duke of *Shrewſbury*. For when People began to be ſenſible it would be difficult to perſuade your Majeſty to diſſolve

diſſolve a Parliament, which, for two Winters together, had given you above ſix Millions a Year for the Support of a War, upon which your Crown depends; even while that War is ſtill ſubſiſting, they have had the cunning to contrive this Propoſal to your Majeſty, which in its Conſequence will certainly put you under a Neceſſity of breaking the Parliament, though contrary (I yet believe) to your Mind and Intention.

I beg your Majeſty to be perſuaded, I do not ſay this out of the leaſt Prejudice to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*. There is no Man of whoſe Capacity I have had a better Impreſſion, nor with whom I have lived more eaſily and freely for above twenty Years. Your Majeſty may pleaſe to remember, that at your firſt coming to the Crown, I was deſirous he ſhould have had one of the chief Poſts in your Service; and it would have been happy for your Majeſty and the Kingdom, if he had accepted that Offer: But he thought fit to decline it, and the Reaſons generally given at that Time for his doing ſo, do not much recommend him to your Majeſty's Service. But I muſt endeavour to let your Majeſty ſee Things as they really are. And to bring him into your Service and into your Buſineſs at this Time, juſt after his being in a publick open Conjunction in every Vote with the whole Body of the Tories, and in a private, conſtant Correſpondence and caballing with Mr. *Harley* in every Thing, what Conſequence can this poſſibly have, but to make every Man that is now in your Cabinet Council, except

to run from it as they would from the Plague. And I leave it to your Majeſty to judge, what Effect this entire Change of your Miniſters will have among your Allies abroad, and how well this War is like to be car-

ried on, in their Opinion, by thoſe who have all along oppoſed and obſtructed it, and who will like any Peace the better, the more it leaves *France* at Liberty, to take their Time of impoſing the *Pretender* upon this Country.

Theſe Conſiderations muſt certainly make *Holland* run immediately into a ſeparate Peace with *France*, and make your Majeſty loſe all the Honour, and all the Reputation your Arms had acquired by the War; and make the Kingdom loſe all the Fruits of that vaſt Expence which they have been at in this War, as well as all the Advantage and Safety which they had ſo much need of, and had ſo fair a Proſpect of obtaining by it. And can any Body imagine that after ſo great a Diſappointment to the Kingdom, there will not be an Enquiry into the Cauſes of it; and who have been the Occaſion of ſo great a Change in your Majeſty's Meaſures and Counſels, which had been ſo long ſucceſsful, and gotten you ſo great a Name in the World? I am very much afraid your Majeſty will find, when it is too late, that it will be a pretty difficult Taſk for any Body to ſtand againſt ſuch an Enquiry. I am ſure if I did not think all theſe Conſequences inevitable, I would never give your Majeſty the Trouble and Uneaſineſs of laying them before you. But, perſuaded as I am that your Majeſty will find them ſo, it is my indiſpenſable Duty to do it out of pure Faithfulneſs and Zeal for your Majeſty's Service and Honour. Your Majeſty's having taken a Reſolution of ſo much Conſequence to all your Affairs both at home and abroad, without acquainting the Duke of *Marlborough* or me with it, till after you had taken it, is the leaſt Part of my Mortification in this whole Affair. Though perhaps the World may think the long and faithful Services we have conſtantly

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and zealouſly endeavoured to do your Majeſty, might have deſerved a little more Conſideration. However for my own Part, I moſt humbly beg Leave to aſſure your Majeſty, I will never give the leaſt Obſtruction to your Meaſures, or to any Miniſters you ſhall pleaſe to employ. And I muſt beg further, to make two humble Requeſts to your Majeſty, the one, that you will allow me to paſs the Remainder of my Life always out of *London*, where I may find moſt Eaſe and Quiet. The other, that you would keep this Letter and read it again about next *Chriſtmas*, and then be pleaſed to make your own Judgment; who hath given you the beſt and moſt faithful Advice.

I am, &c.

I think it is pretty plain from the Queen's Letter, to which, what I have juſt now given, was an Anſwer, that her new Counſellors did not open their whole Scheme to her at once. For if they had, they certainly could never have engaged her to tell my Lord *Godolphin*, that *ſhe hoped he would approve of all her Actions.* But they judged wiſely, that paſſing on under their Direction from one Step to another, ſhe would quickly come to a deſperate Neceſſity of going as far as they themſelves wiſhed.

About the Beginning of *June*, the Deſign of turning out Lord *Sunderland* began to be talked of. Lord *Marlborough* was now Abroad at the Head of the Army.

As ſoon as the News of this Deſign reached him, he wrote a very moving Letter to the Queen, repreſenting the very ill Conſequences it would neceſſarily have upon all Affairs Abroad, to have his Son-in-law, againſt whoſe Fidelity nothing could be objected, and in whom the Allies had ſo entire a Confidence,

Confidence, turned out of her Service in the Middle of a Campaign; and begging it as a Reward of all his paſt Services, that ſhe would at leaſt delay her Reſolution till the Campaign was ended. I was likewiſe urged by ſome Friends to try to ſay ſomething to divert if poſſible ſuch a Stroke; becauſe it was given out that the Queen would do this chiefly on my Account, that I might feel the Effects of her Diſpleaſure in ſo ſenſible and tender a Point. No Conſideration proper to myſelf, could have induced me to trouble the Queen again, after our laſt Converſation. But I was overcome by the Conſideration of Lord *Marlborough*, Lord *Sunderland* and the publick Intereſt, and wrote in the beſt Manner I could to the Queen, *June* 7, 1710. begging, for Lord *Marlborough*'s Sake, that ſhe would not give him ſuch a Blow, of which I dreaded the Conſequence, putting her in mind of her Letter about the Duke upon the Victory at *Blenheim*; and adding the moſt ſolemn Aſſurances, that I had not ſo much as a Wiſh to remove Mrs. *Maſham*, and that all the Noiſe which had been about an Addreſs for that Purpoſe, had been occaſioned by Lord *Marlborough*'s Diſcontents at that Time, which moſt People thought were juſt. To this the Queen wrote a very ſhort and harſh Anſwer, complaining that I had broke my Promiſe of not ſaying any thing of Politicks, or of Mrs. *Maſham*; and concluding, that it was plain from this ill Uſage what ſhe was to expect for the future.

I could not forbear, for my own Vindication, to write a ſecond Letter, in which I aſſured her Majeſty, that I ſhould not have troubled her with the firſt, but that I heard it reported, that the Perſecution, begun againſt Lord *Marlborough* and his Family, was chiefly occaſioned by her Majeſty's Diſpleaſure and Averſion to me, as having promoted

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an Addreſs againſt Mrs. *Maſham*; that it was only to vindicate myſelf from that Aſperſion, that I had preſumed to trouble her; that I could not imagine it could be interpreted as an Offence, to vindicate myſelf from what was now made the Pretence for turning out Lord *Sunderland*, and puſhing Lord *Marlborough* to Extremities; that I had no Reaſon to think, that the aſſuring her Majeſty, that I would never have any Hand in any Thing againſt Mrs. *Maſham*, could have been conſtrued as an ungrateful ſpeaking about her, or called a Continuation of ill Uſage; that I thought this was rather a complying with her Majeſty's Inclination, and ſaying what ſhe could not but approve; that all the Politicks in my Letter was my Concern for Lord *Marlborough*; making it at laſt my moſt earneſt Requeſt, that her Majeſty would only defer the Blow till the End of the Campaign. This, I added, I begged upon my Knees, and left her Majeſty to judge whether, after ſuch an Expreſſion, it was likely that I ſhould ever enter into any Thing that could diſpleaſe her.

Whether my interfering in this Matter haſtened the Execution of the Deſign, I cannot ſay. Certain it is that it did not retard it, for Lord *Sunderland* was preſently after diſmiſſed from his Office. On which Occaſion ſeveral great Men, who wiſhed well to their Country, and who feared that my Lord *Marlborough* might in diſguſt quit the Service, immediately wrote him a joint Letter, which I ſhall here inſert, in Honour both of them and of the Duke.

My Lord, *June* 14, 1710.

WE ſhould not have given your Grace the Trouble of this joint Letter, but for the great Concern and Uneaſineſs in which we find you, on Account of my Lord *Sunderland*, by your Letter of the 20th to my Lord Treaſurer, which he has communicated to us. That Letter, as moving and as reaſonable as it was, has not hindered the Seals from being taken this Morning from my Lord *Sunderland*. No Wonder then if the utmoſt Endeavours which could be uſed to prevent it, and the ſtrong Arguments which have been made of the ill Conſequences, that muſt attend ſuch Steps both at Home and Abroad have met with ſo little Succeſs. We find ourſelves ſo much afflicted with this Misfortune, that we cannot but be extremely ſenſible of the great Mortification this muſt give you at this critical Juncture, when you are every Moment hazarding your Life in the Service of your Country, and whilſt the Fate of *Europe* depends in ſo great a Degree on your Conduct and good Succeſs: But we are alſo as fully convinced that it is impoſſible for your Grace to quit the Service at this Time, without the utmoſt Hazard to the whole Alliance. And we muſt therefore conjure you by the Glory you have already obtained, by the many Services you have done your Queen and Country, by the Expectation you have juſtly raiſed in all *Europe*, and by all that is dear and tender to you at home, whoſe chief Dependance is upon your Succeſs, that you would not leave this great Work unfiniſhed, but continue at the Head of the Army. This we look upon as the moſt neceſſary Step that can be taken to prevent the Diſſolution of this Parliament. Your Grace's Compliance with this our earneſt Requeſt

queſt would be the greateſt Obligation to us, and all that wiſh well to our Country. And you may depend upon it, that the contrary will be the greateſt Satisfaction to your Enemies. We are, my Lord, your Grace's moſt humble and obedient Servants,

COWPER. C.	DEVONSHIRE.
GODOLPHIN.	ORFORD.
SOMERS.	HALLIFAX.
NEWCASTLE.	H. BOYLE.

The Removal of my Lord *Sunderland*, who was ſo nearly allied to the Duke of *Marlborough*, as it had an immediate Effect on the Funds and the publick Credit at home, ſo it gave an Alarm to all the Courts concerned in the grand Alliance; an Event, which brought the Queen's private Counſellors under a freſh Neceſſity of deceiving her, and engaging her to promiſe what they had determined ſhe ſhould not perform. For not only the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances were given here, that there was no Thought of any other Changes, but Mr. Secretary *Boyle* had Orders from the Queen to write to the foreign Courts in her Name, and aſſure them, that all their Fears were groundleſs, and that ſhe would continue the Adminiſtration of her Affairs in the Hands of her preſent Miniſtry, of whoſe Abilities ſhe had ſo long Experience. And yet in leſs than two Months after this, and even the very Day after the Queen had expreſſed her Deſire to my Lord *Godolphin* himſelf, that he would continue in her Service, ſhe diſmiſſed him; and her Letter of Order to him to break his Staff, was ſent by no worthier a Meſſenger than a Man in Livery, to be left with his Lordſhip's Porter. A Proceeding which in all its Parts would remain very unaccountable, if the Queen herſelf had not,

to thoſe who expoſtulated with her, made this undoubtedly true Declaration, *that ſhe was ſorry for it, but could not help it.* Unhappy Neceſſity! that urged her to diſmiſs a Miniſter of my Lord *Godolphin*'s experienced Abilities and Integrity, and to put into his Place a Perſon, whom I indeed ſhould be at a Loſs to deſcribe, but of whom a Friend of mine, many Years ago, drew the following juſt Character.

HE was a cunning and a dark Man, of too ſmall Abilities to do much Good, but of all the Qualities requiſite to do Miſchief, and to bring on the Ruin and Deſtruction of a Nation. This miſchievous Darkneſs of his Soul was written in his Countenance, and plainly legible in a very odd Look, diſagreeable to every Body at firſt Sight, which being joined with a conſtant, aukward Motion or rather Agitation of his Head and Body, betrayed a turbulent Diſhoneſty within, even in the midſt of all thoſe familiar Airs, jocular Bowing and Smiling, which he always affected, to cover what could not be covered. He had long accuſtomed himſelf ſo much to diſſemble his real Intentions, and to uſe the ambiguous and obſcure Way of Speaking, that he could hardly ever be underſtood when he deſigned it, or be believed, when he never ſo much deſired it. His natural Temper led him to ſo expenſive and profuſe a Way of Living, that he had brought himſelf into great Neceſſities, though he had long enjoyed the Advantages of very great and profitable Poſts. One principal and very expenſive Piece of his Art, in which he ſeems to have excelled all that went before him, was, to have in Pay a great Number of Spies of all Sorts, to let him into what was paſſing in all conſiderable Families. It

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was remarkable, that when he came moſt into Favour with the Queen, he was perhaps the only Man, in whoſe Ruin the two contending Parties would have united, as one in whom there was no Foundation to repoſe any Confidence. And that when he came to have the greateſt Power with the Queen, he had loſt all Credit every where elſe.

The ſame Neceſſity which forced her Majeſty to diſmiſs my Lord *Godolphin* from her Service, rendered her irreconcilable to me, tho' by Means of one Perſon at Court, who happened to be in good Favour with her, I made all poſſible Attempts to remove her unjuſt Prejudices againſt me. I wrote to him long and plain Accounts of what had paſt, juſtifying myſelf, and expoſing the Ingratitude as well as Malice of my Enemies: All which Accounts he read to the Queen, but without any Effect upon her. She ſaid not a Word to any of theſe Repreſentations, except one, wherein I had ſet forth the Faithfulneſs and Frugality, with which I had ſerved her in my Offices; and had complained of the Attempts made by the Agents of her new Friends to vilify me, all over the Nation, as one who had cheated my Miſtreſs of vaſt Sums of Money. Her Majeſty, on this Occaſion, was pleaſed to ſay, *Every Body knows, Cheating is not the Dutcheſs of* Marlborough's *Crime.*

The ſame Perſon, to try the Queen further, mentioned my coming to Court, as what might be proper, on account of ſome *new Cloaths*, which, as Groom of the Stole, I had by her Majeſty's Order bought for her. But ſhe preſently charged him to adviſe me, as from himſelf, not to come. And when, after a very ſucceſsful Campaign, the Duke of *Marlborough* was returned to *London*, the Queen

moſt readily accepted the Reſignation, which he carried her from me, of my Offices. The Ducheſs of *Somerſet* was made Groom of the Stole, and had the Robes; and Mrs. *Maſham* had the Privy-Purſe.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, notwithſtanding an infinite Variety of Mortifications, by which it was endeavoured to make him reſign his Commiſſion, (that there might be a Pretence to raiſe an Out-cry againſt him, as having quitted his Queen's and his Country's Service, merely becauſe he could not govern in the Cabinet, as well as in the Field) continued to ſerve yet another Campaign. All his Friends here (moved by a true Concern for the publick Welfare) preſſed him to it, the Confederates called him with the utmoſt Importunity, and Prince *Eugene* intreated him to come with all the Earneſtneſs and Paſſion that could be expreſſed. He went; but his Authority was now diminiſhed, and his Forces weaken'd, many of his beſt Regiments being drawn off, ſome to go moulder away in *Spain*, and others to be ſacrificed in the wild Expedition to *Quebec*. On the other hand the *French* had regained a Spirit by the Proceedings of her Friends here; and they ſeemed to think themſelves ſecure now of bringing Diſgrace upon a General, who had ſo often humbled *them*, and whoſe very Name had been among them for many Years a Sound of Terror. His maſterly Conduct, and his ſurpriſing Succeſs, diſappointed the Hopes, both of our foreign and domeſtick Enemies. The latter ſeem'd to repent that they had permitted him to make this Campaign; the happy Event of which muſt unavoidably render a Peace with *France*, upon *French* Conditions, the more infamous. Yet a Peace was ſo neceſſary to the Preſervation of the new Miniſter's Power, that it muſt be had at any Rate. And in order

order to it, the Confidence of the *French* King muſt be gained. This Confidence could never be hoped for, ſo long as the Duke of *Marlborough* was at the Head of the Army. And therefore, as all the Arts of Malice and Detraction had proved ineffectual to make him reſign his Poſt, it was become neceſſary to remove him from it. But what plauſible Pretence to remove ſo able and ſo ſucceſsful a General, while the War was, in Appearance, ſtill ſubſiſting? A frivolous and groundleſs Complaint in Parliament about certain Perquiſites he had claimed, as belonging to his Station, muſt ſerve the Turn. The Queen, indeed, when he had laid before her what was doing againſt him by the *Commiſſioners of Accounts*, was pleaſed to ſay, *ſhe was ſure her Servants* (her new Miniſters) *would not encourage ſuch Proceedings*. Nevertheleſs, in a very ſhort Time, her Majeſty, once more preſſed by an irreſiſtible Neceſſity, made uſe of that very Complaint as a Reaſon for diſmiſſing him from all his Employments.

To the Queen's Letter, importing this Diſmiſſion, the Duke returned the following Anſwer.

Madam,

I Am very ſenſible of the Honour your Majeſty does me in diſmiſſing me from your Service by a Letter of your own Hand, though I find by it that my Enemies have been able to prevail with your Majeſty to do it in the Manner that is moſt injurious to me. And if their Malice and Inveteracy againſt me had not been more powerful with them than the Conſideration of your Majeſty's Honour and Juſtice, they would not have influenced you to impute the Occaſion of my Diſmiſſion to a falſe and malicious Inſinuation contrived by themſelves, and made publick, when there was no Opportunity for me to give in my Anſwer; which, they

they muſt needs be conſcious would fully detect the Falſhood and Malice of their Aſperſions, and not leave them that Handle for bringing your Majeſty to ſuch Extremities againſt me.

But I am much more concerned at an Expreſſion in your Majeſty's Letter, which ſeems to complain of the Treatment you had met with. I know not how to underſtand that Word, nor what Conſtruction to make of it. I know I have always endeavoured to ſerve your Majeſty faithfully and zealouſly, through a great many undeſerved Mortifications. But if your Majeſty does intend by that Expreſſion to find Fault with my not coming to the Cabinet Council, I am very free to acknowledge that my Duty to your Majeſty and Country would not give me Leave to join in the Counſel of a Man, who, in my Opinion, puts your Majeſty upon all manner of Extremities. And it is not my Opinion only, but the Opinion of all Mankind, *that the Friendſhip of* France *muſt needs be deſtructive to your Majeſty; there being in that Court a Root of Enmity irreconcilable to your Majeſty's Government, and the Religion of theſe Kingdoms.* I wiſh your Majeſty may never find the Want of ſo faithful a Servant, as I have always endeavoured to approve myſelf to you. I am with the greateſt Duty and Submiſſion,

Madam,

Your Majeſty's

Moſt dutiful and

Obedient Subject,

MARLBOROUGH.

SECT.

SECT. III.

THUS, my Lord, I have given you a ſhort Hiſtory of my Favour with my Royal Miſtreſs, from its earlieſt Riſe to its irrecoverable Fall. You have ſeen with Admiration how *ſincere* and how *great* an Affection a *Queen* was capable of having for a *Servant, who never flattered her.* And I doubt not but your Friendſhip made ſome Concluſions to *my* Advantage, when you obſerved for how many Years I was able to hold my Place in her Regard, notwithſtanding her moſt real and invariable Paſſion for that Phantom which ſhe called *the Church:* That *darling Phantom* which the Tories were for ever preſenting to her Imagination, and employing as a *Will in the Whiſp*, to bewilder her Mind, and entice her, (as ſhe at laſt unhappily experienced) to the Deſtruction of her Quiet and her Glory. But I believe you have thought that the moſt extraordinary Thing in the whole Fortune of my Favour, was its being at laſt deſtroyed by a Cauſe, in Appearance ſo unequal to the Effect, I mean Mrs. *Abigail Hill.* For I will venture to affirm, that whatever may have been laid to my Charge of ill Behaviour to my Miſtreſs in the latter Years of my Service, is all reducible to this one Crime, *my Inveteracy to poor* Maſham. I have indeed ſaid, that my conſtant combatting the Queen's Inclination to the Tories did, in the End, prove the Ruin of my Credit with her; and this is true, inaſmuch as without that, her Majeſty could never have been engaged to liſten to any Inſinuations againſt me. Her Paſſion for the Church furniſhed the ſole Means by which Mrs. *Maſham* (the Machine in the Hands of

of *Harley)* could take hold of her Mind, and bring her by Degrees, to look upon that Behaviour in me, as Rudeneſs and Diſreſpect, which before had been only Sincerity and Frankneſs, and a Warmth of Zeal for her Service. And yet (as you have ſeen) in that very Letter, where her Majeſty tells me, *I have loſt her Kindneſs irrecoverably*, ſhe declares, *that this Change is not owing to any Fault I have committed.* But though the Queen, in her higheſt Diſcontent with me, and after I had been in her Service ſeven and twenty Years, had no Crime to lay to my Charge, except *my Malice to poor* Maſham, yet the ready Invention of others, who knew nothing of my Conduct, but whoſe Intereſt it was to decry me, could preſently find in it abundant Matter for Accuſation.

The Calumnies againſt me were ſo groſs, and yet ſo greedily devoured by the Credulity of Party Rage, that I thought it became me to write and publiſh ſomething in my own Juſtification; and the Subſtance of what I am now going to ſay, was contained in a Sort of Memorial, which for that Purpoſe I drew up in 1712. I have already mentioned by what Means I was then diſſuaded from making it publick, and the Reaſons that now induce me to purſue that Deſign.

It was ſpread about in Libels, that I had behaved myſelf unworthily in my Offices, and been unfaithful to the Truſts repoſed in me.

That I had abuſed my Favour with the Queen, by obtaining unreaſonable and exorbitant Grants to myſelf.

And that, through an inſatiable Greedineſs of Riches, I had proſtituted to Sale Titles of Honour and Places of Truſt.

As to my Conduct, with reſpect to the *Robes*, this one Obſervation is almoſt ſufficient, that all my

my Accounts of the Robes, for the whole nine Years in which I ſerved the Queen in that Office, were paſſed in the Exchequer with the greateſt Regularity; and that, in paſſing them, I produced Acquittances for every Sum to the Value of twenty Shillings paid to any Tradeſman; which was ſuch a Method of Exactneſs as had never before been uſed by any Maſter or Miſtreſs of the Robes.

Upon my bringing in the firſt Accounts of this Sort, in order to have them paſſed, it was ſaid, in a Report made to the Treaſury from Auditor *Harley*'s Office, that no ſuch Accounts had ever been brought there before. Mr. *Taylor*, in the Treaſury, and all the Clerks of that Board, made the like Obſervation. But what is moſt worthy to be remembered, Mr. *Harley*, the ſame Mr. *Harley*, who was afterwards Lord Treaſurer, and who then hired his Creatures to miſrepreſent me, throughout all the Nation, as no better than a Pick-pocket, the ſame Mr. *Harley*, I ſay, upon Occaſion of his Brother's having made an Extract from the Accounts, which in former Reigns had been given in, of the yearly Expences of the Robes, wrote me the following Letter.

Thurſday, Auguſt 8, 1706.

Madam,

I MISSED the Opportunity of paying my Duty to your Grace laſt Time at *Windſor*, which occaſions you the Trouble of this Letter. My Brother, having made a State of your Grace's Accounts, deſired that I would receive your Pleaſure, when you would permit him to wait upon your Grace with it. *I perceive your Grace's Conduct will ſhine on all Occaſions*; for my Brother

tells me, that he has made a Collection from all the Accounts which have been brought in for the Robes for forty-six Years, since the Year 1660, and by that it will appear, upon the Comparison, how much better (to a great Value) your Grace has managed for the Crown. He will have the Honour to present this to your Grace whenever you please to appoint a Time to receive it, *&c.*

A Copy of the Collection here mentioned, is added at the End of this Relation, and whoever will be at the Pains to compare the four last Years in those Accounts (when I had the Management of the Robes) with the preceding Years in the same Accounts, will find that the yearly Expence of the Robes in all the Reigns before Queen *Anne*, is, one Year with another, above five thousand and forty Pounds; whereas the Expence of the four first Years of her Reign, one with another, is not two thousand nine hundred Pounds.

But because there is a great deal of Difference between the Expences for the Robes of a Queen, and the Expences for those of a King, it will be more equitable to compare my Accounts for the Robes of Queen *Anne*, with those for Queen *Mary*'s Robes, when under the Management of Lady *Derby*, of which, for two Years, I procured a Copy from the Office.

It appears that in the *first* of those two Years, the Expence of Queen *Mary*'s Robes was greater by a thousand Pound, than that of Queen *Anne*'s for *the whole four Years* mention'd in Auditor *Harley*'s Collection. For the Expence of those *four Years* was no more than 11,565 *l.* 7 *s.* 1 *d.* whereas the Expence of the *first Year only* of Queen *Mary* was 12,604 *l.* 12 *s.* 2 *d.* It appears also that the

the Expence of the Robes, in the *ſecond* Year of Queen *Mary*, was 11,131 *l.* 9 *s.* 1 *d.* which is not many hundred Pounds ſhort of the whole Expence of the ſaid *four Years* of Queen *Anne*.

After theſe four Years, the Expence of the following five Years (which make up the whole Time of my Service) amounting to 18,972 *l.* 9 *s.* 10 *d.* was more in Proportion than that of the ſaid four preceding Years. This was chiefly occaſioned by the extraordinary Expence on account of the Mourning for the Prince, and the Queen's ordering every Thing belonging to the Robes of what kind ſoever to be given away, ſo that at the End of the Mourning all were new at once, and amongſt them ſome very rich Clothes, which happened juſt before I left the Office. Theſe two Articles neceſſarily made a conſiderable Increaſe of the ordinary Expence, eſpecially as the Queen gave ſix hundred Pounds to the Maids of Honour to buy them Mourning. However, the yearly Expence of my *nine Years*, taken one with another, is very ſmall in Compariſon of the *two Years* before mentioned, when Lady *Derby* managed Queen *Mary*'s Robes. For the Sum total paid by the Exchequer on account of the Robes in my nine Years, amounts only to 32,050 *l.* 1 *s.* 3 *d.* as will appear to any one who will take the Trouble to look into the Exchequer Rolls, and if I paid more it muſt have been out of my own Pocket, an Indiſcretion of which no body has ſuſpected me. If from this Sum of 32,050 *l.* 1 *s.* 3 *d.* be deducted, the Coronation Expence, which was 1512 *l.* 4 *s.* 4 *d.* there will remain 30,537 *l.* 16 *s.* 11 *d.* and then the yearly Expence of the ſaid nine Years, one with another, will be 3393 *l.* 1 *s.* 9 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. But it is to be obſerved that in this Sum are included the Salaries, and many other Things relating

to the Robes; amounting to about one thouſand four hundred Pounds a Year, which I always put into my Account (becauſe I thought it the faireſt Way) but which before my Time were put into a ſeparate Account, that the Account of the Robes might appear the leſs. If therefore you ſubtract this 1400*l.* from the above Sum of 3393*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* ¼, the Remainder (the yearly Expence of Queen *Anne*'s Robes in my nine Years) is only 1993*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* ¼, which is leſs than the yearly Expence of Queen *Mary*'s Robes, (according to Lady *Derby*'s Accounts hereto annexed) by the yearly Sum of 9874*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* ¼. So that it evidently appears, that by my Oeconomy in the nine Years I ſerved her Majeſty, I ſaved her near 90,000 *l.* For I believe it will be granted, that without incurring any Cenſure, I might have ſwelled the Accounts for Queen *Anne*'s Robes, to as large a Sum as Lady *Derby* did for Queen *Mary*'s.

But to ſhew how much People were determin'd to defame me at any Rate, and at all Adventures, I had the Fortune, that while ſome accuſed me of being *too profuſe* of the Queen's Money, others cenſured me as being *too ſaving* of it, and too hard upon the Tradeſmen I dealt with. It will not be amiſs therefore to give ſome Account of this Matter, and of the Methods I uſed to reduce the Expences of the Robes to ſo ſmall a Sum.

It is very well known, that in the preceding Reigns, the Tradeſmen gave Money to ſerve the Crown, which brought in great Sums to the Maſters of the Robes, but at the ſame Time obliged the Tradeſmen to charge extravagant Prices for their Goods, a Privilege which could hardly be diſputed with them, conſidering the Sums they had given for the Cuſtom, and the Accidents they

they were then always expos'd to by the Death of the Prince, or the Death or Removal of the Maſter of the Robes. But the Tradeſmen whom I made uſe of had nothing of this to plead; they gave no Money to ſerve the Crown, nor were put to any Expence, not ſo much as the cuſtomary one of Poundage; they were paid regularly, ran no Manner of Hazard, and had no more Trouble in ſerving the Queen than in ſerving a common Cuſtomer, and therefore I did not think it reaſonable that they ſhould be allow'd above a Shilling or two in the Pound extraordinary for their Goods. But thoſe who had the Honour to *ſee* the Queen, and to make her Clothes, were allow'd more than the Double of what they had from the firſt Quality. And this was all I thought myſelf at Liberty to do in an Office in which I was entirely truſted.

My Method to prevent all Miſtakes or Abuſes, was always to ſign the Tradeſmens Bills at the ſame Time that they deliver'd their Goods. They were paid by Mrs. *Thomas*, a Perſon of whoſe Honeſty I had had long Experience, and to whom I had given the Employment of chief of the Robes, making it worth to her between two and three hundred Pounds a Year, not by a Salary but by old Clothes and other little Advantages; and I had a Promiſe from her, never to take Money of any of the Tradeſmen. It is very certain that ſhe was punctual to this Promiſe, and if any of the * Tradeſ-

* *The principal of them were Mr.* Vernon, *Mr.* Inchly, *Mr.* Sands *upon* Ludgate-hill, *and Mr.* Alexander *in* Covent-Garden, *all Mercers. Mrs.* Devet, *Mrs.* Tombes *and Mr.* Bagſhaw, *who kept Indian Shops, and Mr.* Elliot *(ſince ſucceeded by his Nephew) a Lace-man in the* Strand.

men

men themſelves are ſtill living, they will I am ſure bear witneſs to it.

I come now to my Management of the Privy-purſe, the yearly Allowance for which was twenty thouſand Pounds, not half the Sum allowed in King *William*'s Time, and indeed very little, conſidering how great a Charge there was fixed upon it by Cuſtom, the Queen's Bounties, Play-Money, Healing Gold, and Charities, beſides the many Penſions that were paid out of it. The Allowance was augmented to twenty-ſix thouſand Pounds two Years before I left the Office. But in thoſe two Years Mrs. *Maſham* was become the great Diſpenſer of the Queen's Money, I only bringing to her Majeſty the Sums that were called for.

The Privy-purſe is not ſubject to any Account by Law, notwithſtanding which I obſerved the ſame Method with regard to this as with regard to the Robes, taking Acquittances from all Perſons to whom I paid any Money, and *from the Queen herſelf for all Sums paid into her own Hands*, as likewiſe a Diſcharge from her Majeſty upon every Account given in, which Diſcharge was in theſe Words.

I have examined theſe Accounts, and am ſatisfied they are right.

ANNE R.

The Money of the Privy-purſe was paid upon my Notes, by Mr. *Coggs* a Goldſmith over-againſt *St. Clement's Church*, whom I ſtrictly charged never to take any Poundage, which uſed conſtantly to be taken before my Time. But I thought it would be as mean as it was inhuman, to deduct from Charities, and make Advantage of the Indigence of others, and therefore I broke that Cuſtom.

Let

Let any one then judge from the whole, whether I did not put this Office into ſuch a Method, as render'd it impoſſible for me to cheat the Queen, even ſuppoſing I could at any Time have been baſe enough to deſire it.

The Second Charge againſt me is, that of abuſing my Favour with the Queen, by obtaining unreaſonable and exorbitant Grants to myſelf.

I have never been diſpoſed to deny any of the Queen's Favours to me; I have always remember'd them with Gratitude, and freely ſpoke of them as there was occaſion; and I ſhall here give a particular Account of all the Grants and Bounties I ever had from her.

I have, in the former Part of this Relation, taken Notice of my being appointed one of the Ladies of her Bed-chamber, at her own Requeſt, upon her Marriage with the Prince of *Denmark*. The Salary of this Place was two hundred Pounds a Year.

I have mention'd alſo that her Royal Highneſs, upon the Counteſs of *Clarendon*'s leaving her to go to *Ireland*, advanced me to be firſt Lady of the Bed-chamber; by which Promotion I came to have a yearly Salary of four hundred Pounds.

I have further related, that the Princeſs ſoon after her obtaining a Settlement by Parliament of fifty thouſand Pounds a Year, believing, that ſhe owed the Eaſe and Independency of her Condition to the Zeal, Induſtry, and Diligence of my Lord *Marlborough* and myſelf upon that Occaſion, was pleaſed to grant me, of her own Motion, an annual Penſion of one thouſand Pounds. And I cannot here entirely paſs over the Intention, which her Royal Highneſs had of giving us another Mark of

of her Favour, when my Lord *Marlborough* fell into Diſgrace with King *William*. She would have made a new Office for him in her Court, like that which Lord *Berkeley* had in her Father's. But as ſoon as I was apprized of this Deſign, I diſſuaded her from it; becauſe I thought it not reaſonable on her own Account; and beſides, as I lived in Friendſhip with Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt*, who would have been hurt by the Creation of ſuch an Office, I thought this a ſufficient Reaſon for declining the Offer.

A little before the Princeſs came to the Crown, my eldeſt Daughter was to be marry'd to Lord *Godolphin*'s Son, on which Occaſion her Highneſs wrote to me in theſe Terms,

I HAVE a Requeſt to make to my dear Mrs. *Freeman*. It is, that whenever dear Lady *Hariotte* marries, you would give me Leave to give her ſomething to keep me in her Thoughts —— *and concluded thus*, —— I beg my poor Mite may be accepted, being offer'd from a Heart that is without any Reſerve with more Paſſion and Sincerity my dear Mrs. *Freeman*'s, than any other can be capable of.

The Mite which the Princeſs here ſpeaks of was Ten Thouſand Pounds, the whole Portion that was to be paid on my Daughter's Marriage. It had always been the Cuſtom for the Crown to give Portions to the Daughters of their Favourites, but the Princeſs having but Fifty Thouſand Pounds a Year, I thought the Offer too large for her Income, and would therefore accept no more than the Half of it.

The like Sum of Five Thouſand Pounds the Princeſs

Princeſs gave to my ſecond Daughter when ſhe was marry'd to Lord *Sunderland*, adding a Promiſe at the ſame Time to take care of all my Children.

I fancy, my Lord, if you conſider only the almoſt unparallel'd Affection the Queen had for me, you will be little ſurpriſed, either at theſe Expreſſions of it, or thoſe which I am going to relate. And you will certainly be much leſs ſo, if you can believe the Queen herſelf in a Matter, where perhaps it would not become me to expatiate, I mean the Proofs I had given her of my affectionate Fidelity in her Service, and inviolable Attachment to her Intereſts and Happineſs. It would be as endleſs as it is needleſs to tranſcribe all the Letters I have from her to this Purpoſe. A few Extracts from ſome of them will be ſufficient.

On occaſion of ſomething done for the Prince in King *William*'s Time, ſhe wrote to me in theſe Terms.

I WAS going to thank your Lord myſelf for what was done laſt Night concerning the Prince's Buſineſs, it being wholly owing to your and his Kindneſs, or elſe I am ſure it would never have been brought to any Effect. But I durſt not do it for fear of not being able to expreſs the true Senſe of my poor Heart, and therefore I muſt deſire my dear Mrs. *Freeman* to ſay a great deal both for Mr. *Morley* and myſelf: And though we are poor in Words, yet be ſo juſt as to believe we are truly ſenſible, and moſt faithfully yours. And as for your faithful *Morley*, be aſſured ſhe is more, if it be poſſible, than ever, her dear dear Mrs. *Freeman*'s.

In another, after complaining to me of being ill ſerved (as indeed ſhe was to a very great Degree) ſhe adds,——

THOUGH it will be impoſſible for me to have every Thing done to my Mind, unleſs I could meet with a Mrs. *Freeman* in every Poſt of my Family; but her Fellow I do really believe is not to be found the World over, and I am ſure I never can have any Friend that will be ſo dear to me as ſhe is.

In another.—(I forget upon what Occaſion) —

I GIVE you Millions of Thanks for all your and Mr. *Freeman*'s Kindneſs, which I am more truly ſenſible of than I can expreſs, and ſhall never be ſatisfy'd with any Thing I can either do or ſay in Return; for where one owes ſo much, one can never get out of Debt: But whilſt I have Life, I will endeavour to ſhew my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I have a grateful Heart that is moſt paſſionately and faithfully at her Command.

When her Royal Highneſs was pleas'd to give the Five Thouſand Pounds, I have mention'd on my eldeſt Daughter's Marriage, I wrote her a Letter full of Gratitude and Reſpect. At that Time I kept no Copies of my Letters, having no Suſpicion that I ſhould ever have Occaſion for ſuch Vouchers, however the Princeſs's Anſwer will ſhow the Tenour of what I wrote, as well as her Highneſs's Sentiments in my Regard.

MY dear Mrs. *Freeman* has no Reaſon to be uneaſy with the Thoughts that ſhe can never

ver do enough to deſerve my Kindneſs, for ſhe has done more than ever any Mortal did to merit another's Friendſhip. And it is very kind in ſetting ſo great a Value upon ſo poor an Expreſſion as I have made of my Truth, which *upon my Word I am not ſatisfied with, it coming far ſhort of what my Heart is inclined to do.* But as long as I live, I muſt be endeavouring to ſhew, that never any Body had a ſincerer Paſſion for another, than I have for dear Mrs. *Freeman.*

All theſe Favours I receiv'd from the Princeſs before ſhe came to the Crown, ſoon after which, I had the following Letter from her, which as it ſhews the Continuance of her ſincere Affection for me, will at the ſame Time ſerve for a Voucher *that I did not accept the whole* that was offer'd for a Portion to my eldeſt Daughter.

Friday Morning.

MY Lord *Bridgewater* being in haſte to be marry'd, I cannot any longer defer telling my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, what I have intended a great while, that I hope ſhe will now give me Leave to do what I had a Mind to when dear Lady *Hariotte* was marry'd, and let me ſpeak to my Lord Treaſurer about it when I ſee him, *&c.*

This Letter was a kind Proof that the Queen had not forgot her Promiſe of providing for all my Children, which ſhe afterwards fully perform'd by giving the like Portion to my fourth Daughter.

I ſhall now mention all the Grants made to myſelf during the whole Time that I ſerv'd her Majeſty.

The firſt was the Office of Ranger of the great and little Parks at *Windſor*. This I eſteem'd as a great Favour, becauſe the Lodge in the great Park (the ſame that Mr. *May* enjoy'd many Years, and after him the Earl of *Portland*) is a very agreeable Place to live in; and becauſe her Majeſty was pleas'd to give it me of her own Accord, remembring that when we us'd in former Days to ride by it, I had often wiſh'd for ſuch a Place. The Lodge in the little Park at that Time was no better than ſuch as the Under-keepers live in, and I gave it to a Brother of the Duke of *Marlborough's*, who was ſo well pleas'd with the Situation, as to lay out five or ſix thouſand Pounds upon it; of which the Crown will have the Advantage after one Life, as alſo of between four and five thouſand Pounds that I laid out upon the Lodge in the great Park.

This Grant us'd to be repreſented to the Publick as worth Four Thouſand Pounds a Year: But all the Keepers, and many of the Inhabitants of *Windſor* know, that I never made any Advantage of it worth mentioning, unleſs the Milk of a few Cows and a little Firing when I was there may be reckon'd ſuch. And how indeed can it be imagin'd, that any other Profits could ariſe from it (without taking away the very Allowances of the Keepers) when it is remember'd, that to anſwer the Crown Warrants, it is neceſſary to keep up four or five thouſand Head of Deer in the Park, for which the Allowance was but Five Hundred Pounds a Year (which however was taken from me ſome Years ago) and that the Ranger muſt be at the Expence of making, and ſometimes of buying Hay for the Deer; that the Keepers Wages were payable out of this Allowance, with ſeveral other Expences which in Parks belonging to the Crown are much

greater

greater than in others? So that the Thing had plainly very little to recommend it, beſides the Pleaſantneſs of the Habitation.

The next Grant, of which by my Lord *Godolphin*'s Means I obtained the Promiſe from the Queen, after the Queen Dowager's Death, was the Ground in *St. James's-Park* upon which my Houſe ſtands. This has been valued by my Enemies at Ten Thouſand Pounds, how juſtly let any one determine, who will conſider that a certain Rent is paid for it to the Exchequer; that the Grant was at firſt but for fifty Years, and that the Building has coſt between Forty and Fifty Thouſand Pounds, of which the Queen never paid one Shilling, though many People have been made to believe otherwiſe.

Theſe were the only Grants I ever had from the Queen except one, which occaſioned the witty Compariſon that was made between me and the Lady's Woman, who out of her Miſtreſs's Pin-Money of Twenty-ſix Pounds, put Twenty-two into her own Pocket. The Matter was this: At the Queen's Acceſſion to the Government, ſhe uſed to lament to me, that the Crown being impoveriſhed by former Grants, ſhe wanted the Power her Predeceſſors had enjoyed to reward faithful Servants; and ſhe deſired me to take out of the Privy Purſe Two Thouſand Pounds a Year, in order to ſome Purchaſe for my Advantage. I made my grateful Acknowledgments to her Majeſty, but at the ſame Time ſaid, that as her Majeſty was ſo good to provide for my Children, and as the Offices I enjoy'd by her Favour brought me in more than I wanted, I could not think it reaſonable to accept her Offer; and I abſolutely refuſed it. The Queen ſome Time after, in two ſeveral Letters, preſſed me

to

to receive this Bounty, and ſhe frequently did the ſame by Word of Mouth. Nevertheleſs I conſtantly declin'd it; until the Time, that, notwithſtanding the uncommon Regard I had ſhown to her Majeſty's Intereſt and Honour in the Execution of my Truſts, ſhe was pleaſed to diſmiſs me from her Service. Then indeed it was thought I had no longer the ſame Reaſon to be ſcrupulous on this Head. By the Advice of my Friends, I ſent the Queen one of her own Letters, in which ſhe had preſſed me to take the Two Thouſand Pounds a Year; and I wrote at the ſame Time to aſk her Majeſty whether ſhe would allow me to charge in the Privy-Purſe Accounts, which I was to ſend her, that yearly Sum from the Time of the Offer, amounting to Eighteen Thouſand Pounds. Her Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, that I might charge it. This therefore I did, *inſerting in my Accounts* (which were a kind of *Memorial)* theſe Words:

AFTER the Princeſs came to the Crown, ſhe was pleaſed to write to me to take Two Thouſand Pounds a Year out of the Privy-Purſe, and *to make no more Words of it*, and to lay it up to do ſomething with it; becauſe, ſhe added, ſhe had not Power to do as others had done before her, to reward faithful Services. And I might own or conceal it as I liked beſt; for ſhe did not care who knew what ſhe gave to one ſhe could never reward enough.

Her Majeſty after keeping my Accounts a ſufficient Time to have them carefully examined, (I ſuppoſe by Mr. *Harley)* return'd them to me ſign'd in this Manner:

Feb.

Feb. 1. $17\frac{10}{11}$.

I have examined theſe Accounts, and allow of them.

ANNE R.

If ſome Perſons may be inclined to cenſure my Conduct in this Particular as too intereſted, yet every body muſt, I think, be candid enough to own, that it ſhewed a Conſciouſneſs of my Integrity in the Diſcharge of my Truſts, and that I feared no Accuſation upon that Head, even from Malice in Power. Nay I will venture to ſay, that impartial Judges will not think this Part of my Behaviour liable to any Criticiſm, when they remember and conſider, that by my unprecedented Fidelity and Œconomy in the Diſcharge of my Offices, I ſaved to her Majeſty not only more than the Sum in Queſtion, but more than the whole Value of all the Gratuities I ever had from her. For beſides the Bounties I have already mentioned, the Queen after her coming to the Crown, never made me the preſent of a Diamond, or of any Thing worth taking Notice of, during the whole Time that I was in her Favour.

As to my Offices under the Queen they were indeed conſiderable, and I have ever acknowledged them to be ſo, amounting to 5600 *l.* a Year, deducting only for Taxes and Fees. But it is to be remembered, that they were only the ſame Employments that I had executed when ſhe was Princeſs at the Salary of 400 *l.* a Year; and it was therefore nothing extraordinary that ſhe ſhould continue me in them when ſhe came to be Queen. And in what Manner I diſcharged theſe Offices, I have already related.

I come now to the third Article of Accuſation

againſt me, *That I proſtituted to Sale Titles of Honour and Places of Truſt.*

As for *Titles of Honour*, I never was concerned in making any Peer but one, and that was my Lord *Hervey* the preſent Earl of *Briſtol*. I had made a Promiſe to Sir *Thomas Felton*, when the Queen came firſt to the Crown, that if her Majeſty ſhould ever make any new Lords, I would certainly uſe my Intereſt that Mr. *Hervey* might be one. And accordingly, though I was retired into the Country under the moſt ſenſible Affliction for the Death of my only Son, yet when the Queen had reſolved to create four Peers, *Granville*, *Guernſey*, *Gower* and *Conway*, I had ſuch a Regard to my Word, that I wrote to Lord *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin*, that if they did not endeavour to get Mr. *Hervey* made a Peer, I neither would nor could ſhew my Face any more. The Thing was done purely at my Requeſt, and at a Time when Affairs at Court ran ſo violently againſt the whole Party of Whigs, that Mr. *Hervey* had laid aſide all Hopes of the Peerage, and was therefore ſurprized to the laſt Degree, when a Meſſage came to him from the Duke of *Marlborough*, that he muſt come on ſuch a Day by the Back Stairs, to kiſs the Queen's Hand for being made a Peer. On this Occaſion my Lady *Hervey* wrote to me in the following Terms.

March 14, 1702.

Madam,

MR. *Hervey* and myſelf have both ſo long and juſtly ſacrificed the Satisfaction of our own, to the Eaſe and Quiet of your Grace's Mind, that could you know what inceſſant Importunities we have reſiſted from the one, you would the eaſilier forgive the unſeaſonable Interruptions we fear this

muſt

muſt at laſt prove to the other; but the Senſe of our Obligations to your Grace calls too clamorouſly upon us to be any farther withſtood, and therefore we rather venture this Intruſion upon your Solitude, than to be longer ſilent upon a Subject, which requires the earlieſt Endeavours after all Returns that can be made your Grace by us for it. I know nothing we have ſo much at Heart (unleſs it be the due Sympathy we feel of your Grace's preſent Condition) as how we may in ſome ſort deſerve the great Honour her Majeſty has been ſo graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow on us and our Family, by your Grace's kind Mediation, and how we may ever acquit ourſelves of ſo generous a Piece of Friendſhip towards your Grace, which I am very ſure we both think the future Study of our Lives can never enough compenſate, unleſs your Grace's uſual Goodneſs will accept of the moſt zealous and grateful Wills for Payment, and then we conclude the chief of thoſe very many, whom you have bound to be your Grace's Well-wiſhers muſt remain, as much if not more indebted to you than I know Mr. *Hervey* (ſo qualified) to be as well as,

Madam,

Your Grace's moſt obliged,

and faithful humble Servant,

E. HERVEY.

This Letter would alone be a ſufficient Proof, that the Service I then did was not the Purchaſe of Money; but my Lord *Briſtol* is ſtill living, who will vouch for the Truth of this Account.

Certain it is, that I might have made conſiderable Profit by this ſort of Traffic, could I have thought it conſiſtent with Juſtice and Honour. I was offered 6000 *l.* to get Mr. *Coke* of *Norfolk* made a Peer. And how eaſy and inoffenſive a Thing would this have been at that Time? For he was a Gentleman of an Eſtate equal to the Title deſired, and was Grandſon to the Duke of *Leeds*, and in that Intereſt which then carried all before it at Court. The Anſwer I gave to the Propoſal was to this Effect:

That I thought her Majeſty, the Fountain of Honour, ſhould never beſtow it but upon true Merit, and as an Encouragement to ſuch Perſons as were conſiderable enough to be uſeful to their Prince; and that the granting the Peerage upon ſuch generous Conditions, was the moſt likely way to *oblige* thoſe ſhe honoured with it, and ſtrongly engage them to her Service; to which they would look upon themſelves as but little bound on account of their Titles, if theſe were the Purchaſe of their own Money.

And as I was never carried by Avarice to concern myſelf in procuring Titles of Honour for others, ſo I ſhall take Occaſion to obſerve here, that Ambition had no Share in procuring that new Title, which, by her Majeſty's Favour to my Lord *Marlborough*, I myſelf acquired. The following Letters will be ſome Proof of it. The firſt is from my Lord *Godolphin*.

Thurſday Night, *Oct.* 22.

—BY the encloſed Addreſs from the Houſe of Lords, which is to be preſented to the Queen to-morrow, you will ſee they take Notice very thankfully of the Benefits they receive from her Majeſty's Protection, and mention her good Succeſſes

Succeſſes with better Grace for her, in my Opinion, than if ſhe had done it herſelf.

I ſhall ſend a Copy of this Addreſs to-morrow by the Poſt to my Lord *Marlborough*, becauſe I believe it will be a Satisfaction to him. I am apt to think Mrs. *Morley* may ſay ſomething to you upon this Subject, which perhaps you may not like, but I think it muſt be endured upon ſuch an Occaſion, when it is viſible to all the World, that it is not done upon your own Account.—

My Lord had rightly conjectured; for I received a Letter of the ſame Date with his, from the Queen upon the ſame Subject.

St. *James*'s, *Thurſday*, *October* 22.

I Have had this Evening the Satisfaction of my dear Mrs. *Freeman*'s of yeſterday, for which I give you many Thanks, and though I think it a long Time ſince I ſaw you, I do not deſire you to come one Minute ſooner to Town than it is eaſy to you, but will wait with Patience for the happy Hour, and only beg when you do come you would ſend for a Coach, and not make uſe of a Chaiſe. Lord Treaſurer intends to ſend you a Copy of the Addreſs from the Houſe of Lords, which is to be given me to morrow, and that gives me an Opportunity of mentioning a Thing to you, that I did not intend to do yet. It is very unfortunate to your poor, unfortunate, faithful *Morley* to think ſhe has ſo very little in her Power to ſhew how truly ſenſible I am of all my Lord *Marlborough*'s Kindneſs, eſpecially at a Time when he deſerves all that a rich Crown could give. But ſince there is nothing elſe at this Time, I hope you will give me Leave, as ſoon as he comes, to make him a Duke. I

know my dear Mrs. *Freeman* does not care for any thing of that Kind, nor I am not ſatisfied with it, becauſe it does not enough expreſs the Value I have for Mr. *Freeman*, nor nothing ever can how paſſionately I am yours, my dear Mrs. *Freeman*.

The other Letter from Lord *Godolphin*, as far as it relates to this Affair, is in theſe Terms.

Saturday Night.

I Give you many Thanks for the Favour of your Letter, which I received this Evening. I did eaſily believe Mrs. *Morley*'s Letter would make you uneaſy, but having her Commands not to ſpeak of it, I durſt not ſay any more, than juſt to prepare you to ſubmit to what I found by her ſhe was convinced was neceſſary for the Satisfaction of the Publick. I have waited upon her this Evening to let her ſee how truly uneaſy you were, and have begged of her, when ſhe ſees you, not to part till ſhe has made you eaſy again, either by your ſubmitting to pleaſe her, or by her condeſcending to cure your Apprehenſions.

As theſe Letters from my Lord *Godolphin* were written at a Time when there could not be even the remoteſt View of making them publick, they ſhew that in his Opinion, at leaſt, I was not ambitious of a higher Title, which indeed I conſidered as what would ſerve only to provoke Malice, without giving me the leaſt Degree of Pleaſure.

As to *ſelling Places*, which was the laſt Thing I was to clear myſelf from, I ſhall now give an Account of my Conduct with reſpect to this Charge, from the Time that I came firſt into any Office at Court.

A little

A little before I ſucceeded Lady *Clarendon* in the Poſt of firſt Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, her Highneſs wrote to me, that ſhe intended to take two new Pages of the Back-ſtairs, but that ſhe would not do it till my Lady *Clarendon* was gone, that I might have the Advantage of putting them in, meaning, that I might have the Advantage of ſelling thoſe two Places. For it muſt be remark'd, that at that Time no Perſon who was in any Office at Court, with Places in his Diſpoſal, made any more Scruple of ſelling them, than of receiving his ſettled Salary, or the Rents of his Eſtate. It is no great Wonder therefore, that being a young Courtier, and not very rich, and having ſuch an expreſs Direction from my Miſtreſs, I followed the prevailing Cuſtom, and ſold thoſe two Places. Yet it was not long before I began to condemn in my own Mind this Practice. There was ſomething I thought that felt wrong in the ſelling of Employments; and from this Thought I came preſently to a Reſolution, never more to make any Advantage to myſelf by ſuch Means. And when, ſome Time after, the Princeſs thought proper to part with her *Roman* Catholick Servants, three in Number, of whom two were Pages of the Back-ſtairs, and of which two one had bought his Place of me at the Time beforementioned, and paid 400 *l.* for it, I gave him back the whole Sum; and I gave the like Sum to the other *Roman* Catholick Page, though he had riſen to this Employment from being Footman, and without Money. Nay, I procured for this Man, (whoſe Name was *Guyn*) the Continuation of his Salary for Life, which I mention, only that I may ſpeak of his uncommon Gratitude: For during five and twenty Years afterwards, I did not ſet out upon a Journey from *London*, without finding him at my Coach

Coach ſide full of his good Wiſhes for my Health and Happineſs.

The firſt Vacancy that happen'd under the Prince (whoſe Confidence in me was equal to that of the Princeſs) was of the Place of Groom of the Bedchamber. This I procur'd for Mr. *Maul*, who knowing what was uſual in ſuch Caſes, ſent a Meſſage to me, deſiring Leave to make me a Preſent, to which I immediately return'd Anſwer, that I was reſolved againſt every Thing of that Kind.

Another Place that became vacant under the Prince was that of Groom of the Stool, which being given to my Lord *Delawar*, he brought a Preſent of 500 *l.* to Mr. *Guidot*, for me; but Mr. *Guidot*, who knew my Diſlike of ſuch Practices, quickly ſatisfied him that I would not accept of it. I had afterwards many Letters from his Lordſhip, and ſome but a little before my leaving the Court, full of the greateſt Acknowledgments; and to him I always appeal'd for the Truth of this Fact.

I alſo refuſed a Preſent from my Lord *Lexington*, who employ'd Mr. *Scarborough*, to make me the Offer, when his Lordſhip was deſirous to be Maſter of the Horſe to the Prince.

When the Queen came to the Crown, I had every Day much greater Opportunities than before, of making Advantage of her Favour, but I invariably adhered to the Reſolution I had taken: And I doubt not but every candid Perſon will be perfectly convinced of this, when I have finiſhed what I have to ſay upon the Subject.

Had I been diſpoſed to heap up Money by the Sale of Employments, I ſhould certainly not have neglected to ſell thoſe, which by virtue of my Offices were in my own Diſpoſal. I might have done it with the greateſt Eaſe; and Cuſtom had given

me

me a ſort of Right to do it: But I could never think of ſelling my own Favour, any more than that of my Royal Miſtreſs.

The firſt Places which I had to diſpoſe of, were thoſe of the three Pages of the Back-ſtairs; Places ſo conſiderable, that ſeveral Grooms of the Stole were credibly ſaid to have ſold them for a thouſand Guineas each. But theſe I gave freely to Mr. *Kirk*, Mr. *Saxton*, and Mr. *Smith*, and purely at the Requeſt of three Ladies, the Lady *Charlotte Beverwaert*, the Lady *Fitzharding*, and the Counteſs of *Plymouth*.

The other Places in my Diſpoſal were in the Office of the Robes——Waiters, Coffer-bearers, Groom of the Wardrobe, chief of the Robes, Starcher, Sempſtreſs.

Were the Perſons I have named above, and thoſe to whom I gave theſe laſt mentioned Employments, all, or moſt of them now living, as they were in 1712, when this Account was firſt drawn up, their Teſtimony (to which I had there appeal'd) would have mounted to a *poſitive* Proof of my Integrity and Diſintereſtedneſs on theſe Occaſions. But as this kind of Proof cannot now be had, ſo neither is it wanted, there being ſtill a *negative One*, which, I am perſuaded, muſt appear no leſs ſtrong and irreſiſtable. And it is this,

My Enemies at a Time, when they had all Power in their Hands, when they had raiſed ſuch a Spirit of Virulence and Malice as would make any thing to my Prejudice readily believed, when they both could and would have amply rewarded any Perſon, that was capable of proving the baſe Practices they charged me with, even *then* I ſay, all their Accuſations were general; they were never able to fix upon me any one particular Action, either unjuſt,

mercenary, or even ungenerous in the Uſe I made of my Royal Miſtreſs's Favour, or in the Management of my own great Offices. Nay, they never pretended to name or to appeal to any one Perſon for a Proof of what they laid to my Charge.

But, my Lord, all I have hitherto ſaid on this Article of Accuſation, is to ſatisfy thoſe, who are not acquainted with me. Thoſe who are, will, I am perſuaded, believe me, upon my *Word*, when I affirm, as I here ſolemnly do, that (excepting the Pages Money above mention'd) *I never received the Value of one Shilling in Money or Jewels, or in any other Form, either directly or indirectly, by myſelf, or by any other Perſon, for procuring any Place or Preferment, or any Title of Honour, or any Employment in my own Diſpoſal, or, in a Word, for doing any Favour during my whole Life.*

I am,

20 *Jan.*
1741.

My Lord, &c.

An

AN ACCOUNT OF THE

State of the Diſburſements and Allowances in the Office of the Robes, within the Times hereafter mentioned.

Collected by Mr. Auditor Harley.

Maſters of the Robes.	From	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Earl of *Ogle.*	*May* 29, 1660, to *March* 25, 1662,	16831	10	1
L. Hyde, Eſq; *L.* E. of *Rocheſter.*	*March* 25, 1662, to *March* 25, 1663,	6781	15	6
L. E. of *Rocheſter.*	*March* 25, 1663, to *March* 24, 1664,	6968	4	10
	March 25, 1664, to *March* 24, 1665,	6982	16	8
	March 25, 1665, to *March* 24, 1666,	6085	1	0

Masters of the Robes.	From	l.	s.	d.
L. Earl of *Rochester.*	*March* 25, 1666, to *Sept.* 29, 1668,	5158	10	3
	Sept. 29, 1668, to *Sept.* 29, 1669,	5480	16	2
	Sept. 29, 1669, to *Sept.* 29, 1670,	4518	7	11
	Sept. 29, 1670, to *Michaelmas*, 1671,	6723	3	0
	Michaelmas, 1671, to *Michael.* 1672,	5861	6	11
	Michaelmas, 1672, to *Michael.* 1673,	5617	14	4
	Michaelmas, 1673, to *Michael.* 1674,	5407	13	3½
	Michaelmas, 1674, to *Michael.* 1675,	4283	8	11
	Michaelmas, 1675, to *Michael.* 1676,	4572	16	8½
	Michaelmas, 1676, to *Michael.* 1677,	5427	3	3½
	Michaelmas, 1677, to *Lady-day*, 1678,	2508	1	6
H. Sidney, Esq;	*Lady-day*, 1678, to *Lady-day*, 1680,	3832	1	7½
	Lady-day, 1680, to *Lady-day*, 1681,	4305	19	6½
	Lady-day, 1681, to *Lady-day*, 1682,	8028	17	8¼
Earl of *Rochefort.*	*February* 13, 1688, to *Feb.* 15, 1689,	4473	4	4
	Expences for the Coronation,	2627	19	1

Masters of the Robes.	From	l.	s.	d.
Earl of *Rochefort.*	*February* 13, 1689, to *Feb.* 13, 1690,	4206	1	8
	February 13, 1690, to *Feb.* 13, 1691,	4525	6	5½
	February 13, 1691, to *Feb.* 13, 1692,	4100	13	2
	February 13, 1692, to *Feb.* 13, 1693,	4369	7	5
	February 13, 1693, to *May* 5, 1695,	5545	18	2
Earl of *Albemarle.*	*May* 5, 1695, to *May* 4, 1696,	3513	7	9
	May 4, 1696, to *May* 4, 1697,	5111	5	6
	May 4, 1697, to *May* 4, 1698,	3120	19	5½
	May 4, 1698, to *May* 4, 1699,	5733	10	2½
Her Grace the Dutchess of *Marlborough.*	*March* 8, 1701, to *Lady-day*, 1703,	3950	16	7
	Lady-day, 1703, to *Lady-day*, 1704,	3156	3	8
	Lady day, 1704, to *Lady-day*, 1706,	4458	6	10

A Particular of Bills atteſted by the Right Honourable *Elizabeth*, Counteſs of *Derby*, Lady of her Majeſty's Robes, and paid, *viz.*

			l.	*s.*	*d.*
Aug. 21, 1689.	To	*Sarah Browne*	7	10	0
Sept. 4.	To	*Dan. Browne*	2103	10	0
16.	To	*Jane Harriſon*	27	14	0
	To	*Stephen Hugueny*	15	0	0
Jan. 3.	To	*Nath. James*	4	0	0
	To	*Richard Brown*	13	10	0
4.	To	Sir *Francis Child*	1400	0	0
23.	To	*Mary Bampton*	1697	14	9
	To	*Stephen Hugueny*	9	0	0
	To	*Richard Howſe*	33	10	0
	To	*Thomas Alkhorn*	479	17	6
	To	*Robert Blake*	84	0	0
	To	*Ellis Cryer*	13	19	6
	To	*Gerrard Smale*	74	5	0
	To	*Catharine Mulys*	34	7	6
	To	*Matthew Reynolds*	100	0	0
	To	*Mary Ferguſon*	385	1	6
	To	*Serena Cozens*	14	19	6
	To	*Peter Lombard*	44	15	0
	To	*Henry Robins*	40	17	2
	To	*William Garraway*	62	7	0
	To	*Edward Vickars*	7	13	2
	To	*Francis Kinſman*	104	7	0
	To	*Thomas Tompion*	213	18	6
	To	*Eliz. Graydon*	90	14	8
	To	*Henry Cope*	571	17	7
	To	*Jane Harriſon*	15	1	0
		Carried over	7649	10	4

Brought

		£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	7649	10	4
1689.	To *Richard Beavoir*	2156	13	8
	To *Richard Cooper*	584	2	4
	To *Philip la Sage*	32	15	0
	To *Solomon de Medina*	130	17	0
	To *Godfrey Poole*	6	16	6
	To *Gilbert Kirk*	86	5	3
	To *Eliz. Perrier*	122	0	0
	To *Thomas Morton*	1244	14	11
July 17. 1690.	To *Sarah Brown*	30	0	0
	To *Mary Ferguſon*	148	0	0
	To *Marg. Wood*	6	0	0
25.	To *Eliz. Worthington*	7	10	0
	To *Nicholas Alexander*	25	6	10
	To *James Chaſe*	5	0	0
	To *Aaron Dally*	134	13	6
Auguſt 25.	To *Mary Ferguſon*	104	17	6
29.	To *Eliz. Worthington*	58	10	0
	To *Matth. Reynolds*	71	0	0
		12604	12	2

A Par-

A Particular of Bills atteſted by the Counteſs of *Derby*, and paid, *viz.*

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
Octob. 24, 1690.	To *Anne Dewhurſt*	13	16	0
Dec. 27.	To *Peter Haraſhe*	394	10	10
	To *Mary Devet*	102	14	6
Jan. 23.	To *Richard Beavoir*	2067	6	7
Mar. 23.	To the Counteſs of *Derby*	64	10	0
	To *William Tuer*	40	18	6
24.	To *Edward Vickars*	23	6	8
	To *Mary Ferguſon*	160	0	0
1691. 26.	To *Sarah Browne*	20	0	0
31.	To *Eliz. Worthington*	107	5	0
	To *Chriſtopher Spicer*	50	9	3
	To *Anne Dewhurſt*	13	0	0
	To *Stephen Hugueny*	15	0	0
	To Mr. *Corns*	17	4	0
	To Mr. *Schent*	112	0	0
	To *John Biſhop*	83	0	0
	To *Robert Blake*	92	15	0
	To *Robert Roads*	22	4	0
	To *Joſ. Coles*	42	0	0
	To *Matth. Reynolds*	67	10	0
April 2.	To *Mary Ferguſon*	389	6	6
21.	To *William Garraway*	13	19	0
	To *Gilb. Kirk*	120	5	0
June 28.	To *Eliz. du Perrier*	250	0	0
Auguſt 15.	To *Anne Vander Hoeven*	221	19	0
Septemb. 2.	To *Mary Ferguſon*	89	0	0
	To *Sarah Browne*	30	0	0
		4623	19	10

To

		l.	s.	d.
	Brought over	4623	19	10
October 6. 1691.	To Mr. *Thomas Morton*	248	0	0
	To *Thomas Alchorne*	1008	0	0
	To *John Prince*	203	11	0
	To *Ditto*	352	0	0
	To *Ditto*	296	6	0
	To *Godfrey Poole*	124	18	0
	To *Mary Bampton*	853	9	5
	To *George Hanbury*	157	6	10
	To *Ditto*	58	0	0
	To *Gerrard Smale*	137	12	0
	To *Jos. Coles*	25	10	0
	To *Tho. Cherret*	1275	0	0
	To *Solomon Medina*	244	13	0
	To *Tho. Herbert*	172	10	0
	To *Richard Cooper*	692	0	0
	To *Ellen Becker*	149	6	0
	To *Stephen Hugueny*	15	18	0
	To *Matthew Talbot*	20	10	0
	To *Henry Senthouse*	69	15	0
	To *William Garraway*	106	14	0
	To *John Deacle*	90	0	0
	To *Henry Robins*	10	10	0
	To *Aaron Dally*	112	0	0
	To *Matthew Reynolds*	84	0	0
		11,131	9	1

FINIS.

22 MAY